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EDITORIAL

A SPECIALISED *SCIENCE OF SOCIAL CHANGE* NEEDED

Social sciences, the world over, seek to understand and apply principles of analysis of their concerns as a fundamental part of their calling.

Hence, each social science gives special attention to the study of its own methodology which it undertakes in a philosophical spirit.

Underlining such studies are particular perspectives of the world, i.e. world outlooks, which underscore their direction or focus of investigation and application.

Consequently, since there is a plethora of different world outlooks informing conceptions within each social science a veritable chaotic scene of analyses reigns.

That chaos helps nobody. As a science, social science, in dealing with society, must be informed with a particular world outlook that reflects the actual processes of society.

At this stage of intellectual development it is essential that the chaotic scene of conflicting *world outlooks* is cleaned up to boost the reliability of social science.

This calls for a specialised discipline to undertake the clean-up exercise. To christen such a discipline as a 'Philosophy of Social Science' might be quite reflective.

Since the sciences, however, are employed in the social endeavours for *change* upon the imperatives to address perennially evolving social dynamics *focus* is required.

It is no longer feasible to deny the operation of *objective laws* reflective of processes in society. There is no longer denying the fact of social change *animated* by such laws.

These objective laws are *that* focus since no social change is ever undertaken without an assumption of their being at play *as the spirit of the times* which they collectively constitute. On the basis of that spirit are actions taken.

This study of the objective laws of *society* requires the rigours of scientific scrutiny just as the study of the objective laws of *nature* calls forth the physical sciences. Such a study is a science, therefore, but not just a philosophy.

Hence, we call it the 'Science of Social Change' which focuses on *social objective laws* as the *spirit of the times* which determines man's actions in the context of *change*.

Victory Catering Services in Development

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Ideological Determinations

PROCESS OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION AND SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

(A Discourse on the Science of Social Change)

By
Lang T.K.A. Nubuor

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah –The Light of Africa

Abstract

This paper seeks to address the question of *how* the African Revolution should be prosecuted. It does this by addressing the nature of social science, including political economy, as a science. It explains that just as the physical sciences are based on objective laws, like the law of gravity, so is social science based on objective laws, like the law of the interaction between the productive forces and relations of production. It goes further to explain that just as the objective laws of the physical sciences are applied to serve the needs of humanity so are the objective laws of social science applied to address the process of social change and development. Having projected social science in this specific light it suggests that the prosecution of the African Revolution should be based on (a) tracking down the objective laws (spirit of the times) animating *African* society and (b) applying those objective laws to analyse that society to guide formulation of approaches and policies. It employs the framework of Marxism-Nkrumaism as developed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

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> Social revolution must … have, standing firmly behind it, an intellectual revolution, a revolution in which our thinking and philosophy are directed towards the redemption of our society.
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> Kwame Nkrumah*, Consciencism,* 1970, p. 78

> Since new forms of society emerge from but are not imposed on the old a process of evolution and revolution is always involved. It is the task of the revolutionary to discern the evolutionary moments of the newly emerging and progressive trend so as to promote its development and dominance over the old and dying trend. The decisive moment, the revolutionary moment, is when the final act is undertaken to formally assert and constitutionalize the predominance of the new and the demise of the old. Evolution is thus involved in the revolutionary process as its initial stage.
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> Lang T. K. A. Nubuor, *The Mind Of Kwame Nkrumah,* 2011

Do you capture or crush an existing State before you build the new society? Or you build the new society within the existing one to generate its own new State from the latter by developing the new society to a critical point of bursting the old society and its State asunder; that is, in the manner that beer bursts its bottle at a certain critical point of continual fermentation and spills to spread all over? What does our experience of the dynamics of the process of world history tell us? How do we prosecute the African Revolution anew (scientifically) for our total liberation?

In responding to this series of questions, which actually boils down to the last in the series, we are calling into focus the perspectives of the great revolutionaries of the era when the foundations of capitalism started shaking in 1871 with the rise of the Paris Commune in France; the attempted abortion of *rising* capitalism in the bosom of dying feudalism in Russia; the pursuit of socialism through first using capitalism to furnish it with its capacities while feudalism trots to its end in China; and, in Africa, attempts are made at creating parallel systems against the old.

By focusing thus, the experiences of the past within the said era are marshalled to inform us on the revolutionary trajectory that the African Revolution must tread not only to liberate Africa from the marauding forces of capitalist imperialism and the loot of her resources; but also to explore the way by which Africa shall simultaneously realize the dream of her leading lights for a

set Socialist United Africa under the banner of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism as very firmly rooted in the principles of Marxism-Nkrumaism. Nothing else motivates the current endeavour.

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It might be complained that the recapitulation of the insights of the world's great revolutionaries, since they are generally known, is unnecessary. To this, J. V. Stalin responds that 'It may be said that all this is correct and generally known; but that there is nothing new in it, and that it is therefore not worth spending time reiterating generally-known truths. Of course, there really is nothing new in this; but it would be a mistake to think that it is not worth spending time reiterating certain truths that are well known to us.'

He continues to observe that 'The fact is that we, the leading core, are joined every year by thousands of new and young forces who are ardently desirous of assisting us and ardently desirous of proving their worth, but who do not possess an adequate Marxist education, are unfamiliar with many truths that are well known to us, and are therefore compelled to grope in the darkness.' This is correct but only to some extent. What *really* motivates such recapitulation is the need to revisit our forebears and the *interpretations* placed on their *works* for our self-edification to enhance our capability for social change.

In fact, Stalin himself does not just reiterate the insights of our great forebears. He places *his own* interpretations on their works *in their defence* against other authors whose works seem to him pure misinterpretations. For him, such misinterpretations tend to and actually deflect the process of the revolution from its socialist and communist direction back to capitalism. In his endeavours, Stalin focuses primarily on *comrades*, who believe they are making a contribution to the revolutionary process, rather than wasting time on enemies or recalcitrant opponents.

Of course, this does not necessarily render correct all of Stalin's *own* interpretations of the works of his and our forebears such as Marx and Engels. So that, just like our own input here, his works require the same spirit of critical scrutiny to enhance coherence in the history of political economy and even more importantly in the laws of the science of political economy. The nature of those laws, regarding the sense in which they are said to be *objective laws* in their comparison to the objective laws of

the physical sciences, still requires critical scrutiny, for instance. In fact, that is central to the present discourse.

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In our explorations on the path of the African Revolution we are impelled not only to espouse the province of political economy as our frame of analysis. More importantly, we are required to state the nature of the scientific laws of political economy upon which we base the analysis. This must dispel the disquisitions about social science as a science in appraisal of it at the level of and in comparison to the physical sciences. Petite-bourgeois ambivalence in respect of the scientificity of political economy needs be burst for exactitude as to why the latter is a *science*.

Science, whether it is the science of *nature* or the science of *society*, is characterized by a set of some laws conceived as immanent or *essential*. It has been observed that the laws of *nature*, operating outside the will of man, hold *only* in the *essential* while in *society* the essential laws have, *in addition* to them, some *inessential* laws. The latter are characterized by the fact that they emerge in the process of social history but fade out when conditions of their existence are no longer subsisting. On the other hand, the essential laws are ever-present at *all* stages of society's development.

Unlike those who dwell on the short-lived nature of the *inessential* social laws to run down social science as being less determinate than the physical sciences, Marxist political economists distinguish the period *when* such laws are *operative* in their determinations and *when* they are *replaced* by new ones. Hence, for Marxist political economists, the short-lived or inessential laws are as immanent for *the limited period that they are operative* as the essential laws are immanent *for all times*. Thus, inessential social laws, just like the essentials, are powerful analytical tools for producing accuracy in social analysis.

Our anxiety here is to call attention to the fact that the social sciences, when they proceed from the premises of historical materialism, are just like the physical sciences in determination of exactitude. We are not oblivious of the fact that in the social sciences, even among Marxists, there are times of controversy and contestations in applying the essential and inessential laws. But so also are there some controversies and contestations in

the physical sciences. The long debates over Einstein's law of relativity and its application still continue today, for instance.

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At this juncture, then, we take a look at the *basic law* of society that political economy espouses for guidance and application. It is society's basic law because it is *essential* in the sense that it is *necessary* for *all* societies at all *times*, just like the law of gravity. This basic law of society asserts that *any* society is constituted by both productive forces and relations of production which interact to advance its level of production. Additionally, while the two conform to each other there are no crises until the production relations *lag* behind the productive forces in development.

An elaboration of this law further holds that the political and other superstructural institutions, like the educational, cultural and religious systems, sprout from the character of the relations of production. It is also explained that this law of society works through the *conflicting wills of individuals* in society but quite in spite of them and thus stands as an independent *objective law* whose *results* in operation are not determined by individuals. The objectivity of this law, just like that of the law of gravity, once grasped, makes the law applicable for society's ends.

In his Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., J.V. Stalin sees in the works of Marx and Engels the *similarity* of the form of the objective laws of *nature* and of *society* in their being *independent of the will of man*.[1] They operate independently of man's will. He, nevertheless, observes the *difference* between the two sets of objective laws to consist in the fact that whereas the objective laws of society are *impermanent*, those of nature are *permanent*. By this, he is careful, without saying it, to refer to 'at least the majority of them (i.e. the objective laws of *society*)'.

It is clear to us that the excepted law of society or the science of political economy that he refers to is what we call here the *basic law of society*; that is, the law of the interaction of the relations of production with the productive forces. This law, as stated above, is *permanent* and *essential* in being operative in *all* social formations. It reproduces itself in *every* social formation unlike those that are *specific* to each social formation and disap-

[1] We shall return to this soon.

pear once the social conditions of their existence are no longer tenable and *disappear*. Stalin holistically but briefly states that

> The various social formations are governed in their economic development not only by their *own specific* economic laws, but also by the economic laws that are *common* to *all* formations, such as, for instance, the law that the productive forces and the relations of production are united in one integral social production, and the law governing the relations between the productive forces and the relations of production in the process of development of *all* social formations. (All italics added)

This quite profound interpretation of Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' works on the subject of the scientificity of political economy must put to silence those who aver that in comparison with the physical sciences, social science (including political economy) is not as firm or exact. To sum up, we should say that the laws of political economy are objective, just like those of the physical sciences. They are also abiding either as *permanent laws* spanning *the entire* existence of a society or as *transient specific laws* relating to only *specific moments* of social history.

In this regard, in the application of a social law one must bear in mind its *period of play* – whether permanent or transient.

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We must observe at this point, however, that Stalin is quite mistaken where he sees the objective laws of society or of the science of political economy as 'reflecting processes of economic development which take place *independently* of the *will* of man'. No, they take place *through* the conflicting *wills of men* addressing conflicting interests through their conflicting actions. The *results* of those conflicts of will in action are never *intended* by the persons involved and as such appear as if they are occasioned by an *alien force* – the objective laws of society.[2]

Engels explains that those results appear as compromises to which each person *makes* a contribution.[3] On the basis of such results or compromises subsequent actions, based on the *wills* of those persons, produce further results or compromises. Upon

[2] For a detailed discussion on this, click the following link: https://marxistnkrumaistforum.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/journal-of-marxism-nkrumaism-special-mid-year-edition-2015.pdf

[3] See Friedrich Engels' letter to J. Bloch on September 21, 1890

later observation of the series of those resultants one observes a certain *coherence* that connects the results as if it is the work of an independent force in manipulation of the wills of men. The summation of the *regularity* in the occurrence of such coherence over periods of time is said to *reflect* processes, action series.

That *summation* is the statement of a *law* of society, a law of science. The stated law, therefore, derives from the seat of *the will of man*. It is objective and independent of the will of man only in the sense that once activated it *conditions* man's activity *as if* it is an alien force such as the law of gravity. It is in its objective and independent expression that the law renders itself accessible to the social scientist that discovers it in operation and applies it to realize social aims and objectives. That is, in the same way that the law of gravity is utilized. It is referred to, together with related laws, in ordinary language as *the spirit of the times*.

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These latter statements are comprehensively captured in Stalin's assertion that 'Man may discover these laws, get to know them and, relying upon them, utilize them in the interest of society, impart a different direction to the destructive action of the laws, restrict their sphere of action, and allow fuller scope to other laws that are forcing their way to the forefront; but he cannot destroy them or create new economic laws'. Yes, man cannot destroy or *create* new economic *laws* but can only restrict them to pave way to other *emergent* laws *surging* into dominance. That is, the spirit of the times gives in to a new one.

The practical implication of this position on the laws of society is that since we cannot create or destroy them, though we can *restrict* them in their destructive action to *pave* way for other existing but *emerging* laws, we can *only* work on *all existing* laws to this or that direction; we cannot work on laws or spirits of the times that are *yet* to emerge. We cannot work on what does not exist; neither can we bring them into existence to work on. This raises the question of how to make the *specific laws of socialism* operative in a society where the *rudiments* of socialism are *non-existent*. That is, where the *day-to-day fundamental voluntary practices* of the society are bereft of a *socialist spirit of the times*.

For, without such *rudiments*, there is no way to find therein the *laws* that might have animated them and which would have, therefore, been worked on or applied in promotion of social-

ism. It should be clear to us, then, that the promotion of socialism in that society can only be by way of an *external intervention* on the basis of laws *external* to the society. This might be seen as a *process from without*. A process of that nature can, therefore, only be seen as an *imposition* unto the free flow of the dynamics of that society. Only the *maximum use of force* can facilitate it.

To illustrate this perspective in quite concrete terms we can first of all cite the example of colonialism in Africa. Africa was in a state of non-capitalist development upon the advent of colonial forces on its shores. The *emerging* social formation was not capitalism but a semi-feudalism emerging from a disintegrating communal society. The legendary brutality of the force used by the colonial adventurers to *impose* capitalism on African society was euphemistically referred to as pacification or enlightening of African society.[4] Consequent historical narratives of human-bloodletting by the European colonialists remain horrendous.

In specific reference to the *imposition* of the State from *outside* the *internal dynamics* of Africa, leading to the fragility of the State in Africa, Nana Dr. S. K. B. Asante quotes Schultz as observing that 'All states are creations of conflict, consensus and contrivance, but perhaps the states of Africa are the most *contrived* of all. *In very few circumstances were the states formed on the basis of internal dynamics*. Most of them *were configured by the imperatives of European power politics* at the end of the nineteenth century. As a result, African states are especially subject to fragmentation and reconfiguration …'[5] (Italics added)

In his statement on the neo-colonial ideological reflection of this tragedy in the intellectual conceptions of Western and African analysts, the late Professor Ansa Asamoa, in the following quote from his *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries*, Introduction, (in re-paragraphing) bemoans:

> Several studies, especially of western origin, explain the failure of Ghana to take off socio-economically in terms of unrealistic strategies, mismanagement, the dominant position of public entrepreneurship, incompetence among

[4] V. I. Lenin puts it this way: '… the "merit" of imperialism is that it "trains the Negro to habits of industry" (not without coercion, of course …)' See his *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1975, p. 126. See also Lenin, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, PDF

[5] Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences Proceedings 1998, *Notion of the State in Contemporary Africa*, 2006, Accra, p. 8.

> others. *Colonial roots* of the hurdles in the way of the country's development drive, the undemocratic international economic order and external factors which, in interplay with *core internal contradictions* frustrate the post-colonial development efforts, are either ignored or played down.
>
> Even the first few years of economic growth and socio-physical infrastructural expansion and the associated improved quality of life in Ghana during the First Republic are explained covertly or overtly in the context of 'healthy colonial legacy'. Ghana's alienated educated elite, with avid political ambitions, is easily taken in by this one-sided pro-imperialist interpretation of the country's socio-economic stagnation. Through them powerful external forces have been manipulating the national economy especially, since the fall of Nkrumah. *Untold material and social deprivations have been the outcome*. (Italics added)

If colonial *intervention* in Africa was by forces of a clearly *external* nature what happened in Russia was a kind of an innovation. There, it was led by a force of an *internal* nature, standing *outside* the internal process. Stalin tells us in his cited work above that the social formation inherited by the Soviet government saw an '*absence* in the country of any ready-made rudiments of a *socialist* economy'.[6] That government, he continues, 'had to create new, socialist forms of economy, ''starting from scratch,'' so to speak'. This is in contradiction of his own understanding that *laws cannot be created*. That is, the *spirit of the times* is not created. No doubt he concedes that 'That was undoubtedly a difficult, complex and *unprecedented* task'. That is true but bare on the amount of force employed in the attempt.

In other words, whether we talk of either the European intrusion in Africa or the Soviet experiment in the Soviet Union we are talking about the *unscientific imposition* upon *internal* processes of societies through a real *process from without*. Certainly, in the theoretic terms of Stalin, these impositions of laws which were *not yet native* to the internal dynamics of Africa and Russia, respectively, were in violation of the process of a revolution. Such violations have had the effect of dislocating African native processes and a forced backward march in the U.S.S.R./Russia. In

[6] V. I. Lenin previously states in 1917 that Russia is 'a country which is economically most backward, where modern capitalist imperialism is enmeshed, so to speak, in a particularly close network of *precapitalist relations*.' Op. cit. p. 96. At p. 115, however, he adds Russia to some 'two areas where *capitalism* is little developed.' (All italics added.) So that it is the rudiments of *capitalism* but not of *socialism* that were in place then.

the latter, the *emergent* capitalist objective laws or spirit of the times when feudalism was giving in to capitalism resurged.

In this respect, we feel under pressure to relate a popular quote of Ché Guevara to the present discourse. By that quote, he says that 'The revolution is not an apple that falls when ripe. You have to make it fall'. For sure, this is scientifically valid *if* it suggests that the *rudiments* or *seeds* of the revolution are *already* in place and that all that one needs to do is to *accelerate* its development. Should Ché suggest that he rather means that without *any* rudiments or seeds of the revolution it must be unleashed upon society then scientific inaccuracy is celebrated. For, what is *not in existence* in any form cannot be made to *fall*.

In this regard, it is instructive that in *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels observe 'the revolutionary element *in* the tottering feudal society' just as they observe more concretely that 'The modern bourgeois society … *sprouted* from the ruins of feudal society'. All social formations in history are each the product of the preceding one. None has, so to speak, dropped from the heavens or dropped by a great revolutionary standing astride over his society into that society. Recently, Paul Mason observes in his article 'The End of Capitalism has Begun' that 'Without us noticing, we are entering the post-capitalist era.'

Talking about a *new* ideology in Africa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah does not see it in an act of *dropping*. He sees it as one that *emerges* from an *existing* ideological situation. Within the flux of contesting ideologies in Africa, he says that the new ideology *emerges* from the *original* humanist principles of the African. Calling it a new *emergent* ideology, he says in *Consciencism*, p. 70, that 'A new emergent ideology is … required, an ideology which can solidify in a philosophical statement, but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the original humanist principles of Africa.' Thus, he sets out principally to *trace* the principles of consciencism *from* the contested *African* originals.

This methodology in defining an ideology as a *derivative* from the *social process* is in contrast with Edward Shils' which defines ideology as an *imposition*. In his 'Ideology', published in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 7:69, Edward Shils states that 'An ideology is the product of man's need for *imposing* intellectual order on the world. The need for ideology is an intensification of the need for a cognitive and moral map of the universe …' Briefly, Marxism-Nkrumaism is a cognitive and

moral/ethical set of objective laws *derived* from the state of the universe and the class struggles in our days – aimed at resolving the latter under the guide of African egalitarian humanism.

That humanism ethically projects Man as an end in himself but not as a means to an end. See *Consciencism*, p. 94, where Dr. Nkrumah states that 'The cardinal ethical principle of philosophical consciencism is to treat each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means'. Read chapter 3, entitled 'Society and Ideology' where he often uses 'principles' in place of 'objective laws' for the discussion on *derivation* of ideology.

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It is clear from the above that a revolution cannot scientifically be *explained* or *undertaken* as *a process from without* which can only either result in a revolution with the feet of clay or a *gbeyeciously* dislocated and confused society. Until the forces of a revolution analyse their society and scrutinize it for *traces* of an objective law *emerging* in opposition to the dominant but socially unbeneficial objective law *within* that society, nothing of a stable and sure revolutionary process can be scientifically effectuated. Relying on the *emergent* law, the new spirit of the times, seems to us the path to tread.

The science of tracing emergent objective laws which operate in advancing the evolution of a new and better social formation is the science of tracing the *rudiments* of the new society *within* the existing social formation. Such rudiments, once traced, are studied to track down the objective laws that animate them towards the direction of their flow so as to accelerate the flow or redirect it along the desirable path; that is, turn the *flood* into a *dam* to generate hydro-electrical energy. Within the existing social formation the rudiments reveal themselves in new *opportunities* resulting from the struggles in society.

Once the objective laws, be they essential or specific in form, are discovered among the masses of the people their mobilization and organization as the *referent* and *masters* of the revolutionary process become the strategic norm. The *central role* of the masses of working people in the revolutionary process does not only stabilize that process' steady evolution but veritably serves as *the guarantee* against petite-bourgeois opportunism. Petite-bourgeois opportunism, whereby petite-bourgeois elements are ambivalent, is obstructive and destructive.

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The question of 'How?' of the African Revolution is thus settled for us in conceiving the process of that Revolution as *a process from within* Africa. Our concrete study of *African* society and development is hence required to focus essentially on tracking down the *emergent* objective laws (spirit of the times) of African society animating the rudiments *created by the class struggles* in Africa. We rely on them, through their application, to formulate our approaches and policies in directing Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for a Socialist United Africa in the *People's Republican State of Africa*.

Yes, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah once declares, 'I have sown the seed and it shall surely germinate.' And across the parapet he sees a new Africa sprouting in greatness *out* of that seed. Ours, in the terms of Ché Guevara, is not to just sit awaiting the germination of that seed to fruition. It is already germinating. And all we certainly need to do is to trace the germinating processes as the rudiments in the life of African society; trace the objective laws animating those rudiments and apply them to generate the new Africa of Dr. Nkrumah's dream which is the dream of Africans.

The directing ideological hand of Marxism-Nkrumaism, in guidance of the application of the objective laws, as they operate in Africa, for the pursuit of an egalitarian and humanist African society has long been at work in that spirit. For, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in Consciencism, p.78, imperatively states, back in 1964 and 1970, at a lower level of philosophical abstraction that

> Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people. *It is from those conditions that the intellectual content of our philosophy must be created.* (Italics added)

This is all handily stated at a higher level of philosophical abstraction in Marxist terms at p. 96 thus: 'The different manifestations of matter are all results of dialectical processes unfolding according to *objective laws*. There is a determinate process through which every manifestation is *derived*.' Socially, that is the process of the revolution animated by those *objective laws* (the spirit of the times) being traced!

Epilogue

> Experience … has led me to dread, no so much evil itself, as *tyrannical attempts to create goodness*. (Rabindranath Tagore as cited in Dennis Dalton, *Gandhi's Power – Non-violence in Action*, p. 76 Italics added)

A curious comrade, having critically read and studied the manuscript of this paper, raises two vital and related issues with the author. The first is: 'Some others think that, as in Cuba, if you *capture* state power you can use it in the interest of the masses who are dominated by a non-socialist set of objective laws or spirit of the times but *not yet* exhibiting the socialist spirit of the times or objective laws. They hold that after reaping the benefits of socialism the masses would *accept* socialist ideology.'

The author's response to this mechanical reasoning is that such socialism would not be *rooted* in any natural tendencies (the phrase is another expression for 'spirit of the times') of the masses. That, it is explained, is a process from above – the top-to-bottom approach – an *imposition* which may not even be violent. The bottom-to-top approach, on the other hand, builds from the *emergent* spirit of the times or the natural tendencies of the masses who spiritedly *defend* newly evolved institutions, built on the basis of that spirit, *as a matter of course* once their survival is tied with them as *owner-workers*.

This latter is illustrated with the experiences of the Soviet Union and Ghana where the vast sections of the masses virtually stood aloof when counter-revolutionary forces took over state power and reversed the trend of development. State Enterprises, built from *above* and not owned by their workers, employed such workers and fired them at will in accord with the spirit of capitalist practice. Nobody defends that for which they do not have a natural feeling of ownership. State capitalism is also capitalist. It does not evoke in a worker a patriotic feeling of ownership.[7]

The development of State Enterprises, as pursued from *above*, correspondingly denies the State's support to private enterprises. And, that is, *consciously*. The spread of the benefits of running State Enterprises in providing free education and other social services is essentially akin to a Multinational or Transna-

[7] Patriotism stems from one's unquestionable feeling of collective ownership of and stake in the country of abode and for which one is *instinctively* prepared for the ultimate sacrifice to keep as theirs. A socialist enterprise requires the cultivation of that feeling of collective ownership. Capitalism, on the contrary, is exclusivist in this respect.

tional Corporation providing scholarships and other free social services albeit on a much limited scale. The beneficiary longs for future opportunities to *own* their *personal enterprises*.

This response to our critical reader visibly alarms him. He wants to know whether that is a rejection of State Enterprises. No! It is explained that a socialist-oriented State Enterprise *emerges* from among the masses of the people on the *basis* of their naturally-evolved spirit of collectivism. The signs of that spirit could be seen *today*, for instance, in the youth's rush to embrace opportunities opened by even this insincere neo-colonial state in Ghana for *group-owned* enterprises.

Our critical reader then raises the second issue which is apparently more profound. That is, he asks: 'What would be done in case that emergent spirit of collectivism is not yet there?' To his utter surprise and confusion this author promptly answers 'Nothing'. He could obviously no longer take it and asks to be excused to attend to a child who might be awaiting him at the end of classes for the day. The two were to continue with their discussion later when the answer might be explained.

The 'Nothing' answer, in fact, means that one could *not* still *impose* unto the masses *anything durable* since it would not be rooted in their hearts and minds. Resort to physical or irrational force or violence to get the masses of the people to adopt a system out of sync with an emergent spirit of the times would only be met with a Gandhian Spirit of Resistance, quiet but obstinate, whatever the best intentions might be in favour of those masses. You cannot *force* anybody to love *anything* however *attractive*.

In this respect, even Rabindranath Tagore, an idealist Indian poet and critic of Mahatma Gandhi, says, with appreciated insight but in a somewhat extreme manner, that 'Experience … has led me to dread, no so much evil itself, as *tyrannical attempts to create goodness*.' (Dennis Dalton, *Gandhi's Power – Nonviolence in Action*, p. 76. Italics added)

The ultimate answer is provided in another context by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah when he makes the 'I have sown the seed and it shall surely germinate' statement above. That is, he *uncovers* the seed. Mind you, *nobody in particular creates it*. The contradictions generated by the *class struggles* in exploitative social systems *necessarily* sow the seeds for the spontaneous evolution of their alternatives. Ours is to find and *nurture* them to fruition

as a replacement. If one does not find the seed of the *immediate* next stage of development then the probing is not hard enough.

When Stalin truly failed to find the *rudiments* of *socialism* in the *bosom* of tottering *feudalism* he was searching *too far beyond* the immediately *fledgling* capitalism – that is, *beyond* the immediate next stage of development which was *infant* capitalism. Hence, he had to futilely use force from *above* to plant and establish a socialist system with the feet of clay; that is, upon the base of the *emergent* spirit of capitalism and a *disappearing* feudalism. The incongruousness of the attempt should be clear to us now: *you cannot build socialism unto a capitalist foundation*.

The two issues thus raised are based on a misplaced premise – held in the spirit of philosophical idealism – the thought that things are or can be dropped into the social process, once conceived, irrespective of the dynamics of the material conditions. It is such lingering idealist remnants in the mind of the socialist revolutionary that dispose their enemies to accusing them of 'dictatorship' or 'tyranny'. Remember Tagore as cited above?

The idea of *capturing* the State, which has always been the existing *oppressive* State, has been dominant in the mind of the African revolutionary for far too long. Where successful, the dynamics quickly changed. The well-meaning revolutionary holds on to the *inherited* state power *machinery as imposed* by the colonial powers. He tries to use this specially designed and imposed machinery for his people's oppression in a reversed manner – for their liberation. And fails. No lesson is learnt yet.

A new way of doing things is required: the *scientific* way as only the materialist conception of history or historical materialism as applied in Marxism-Nkrumaism can and does determine for us. This is the call of Marxism-Nkrumaism. We neglect it to our own chagrin. We embrace it to the edification of Africans. We value its constructive criticism to cultivate it. But in respect of those who deride you for holding aloft the banner of this call recite to *yourself* the lyrics of the lady singing in this Gandhian spirit:

If no one responds to your call,
then walk alone.

If no one speaks to you,
if all faces turn away in fear

then, o unfortunate one,
open your heart,
unburden your mind and
express your thoughts alone.[8]

Yes, you do not futilely have to go about *imposing ideas and systems* on people through *violence.* Gandhi had once said in October 1946 before he died in 1948: 'I know that mine is today a voice in the wilderness.'[9] Today, such may be our lot as Marxist-Nkrumaists. But we have the *patience* of the vulture which Gandhi again outlines in these terms as cited by Anil Nauriya[10]: 'It is one thing for me to hold certain views and quite another to make my views acceptable in their entirety to society at large. My mind, I hope, is ever growing, ever moving forward. All may not keep pace with it. I have therefore to exercise utmost patience and be satisfied with hastening slowly.' *We stick to such patience* to achieve a deeply-rooted effect.

And Remain Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

Tema, Ghana
July 18 2016 – November 2 2016

It is one thing for me to hold certain views and quite another to make my views acceptable in their entirety to society at large. My mind, I hope, is ever growing, ever moving forward. All may not keep pace with it. I have therefore to exercise utmost patience and be satisfied with hastening slowly.

Mahatma Gandhi

… the understanding of reality cannot spread as fast as illusion and error in human societies …

H.M. Basner

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[8] Watch the video *Does Gandhi Matter?*
[9] Dennis Dalton, *Gandhi's Power: Nonviolence In Action*, p. 159
[10] Anil Nauriya, *Gandhi's Now Little-Known Critique of the Four-Fold Varna Order*, p. 6

Applications

IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM-NKRUMAISM SERIES

MARXISM-NKRUMAISM

The Historical Development of the Thought and Practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analysis (CENCSA)

The greatness of a historical personality should not be measured by his achievements in an environment of peace, order and abundances; it should be measured against the *grave difficulties* in which the achievements were made. Kwame Nkrumah's unparalleled socio-economic, educational, industrial, scientific, technological, agricultural and cultural accomplishments in the post-colonial Ghana, as well as his unmatched contribution towards the African liberation struggle, (were) carried out in the environment of systematic internal and external destabilizing campaigns, terrorism, death threats on his life, external economic sabotage and the absence of decolonized African thinkers and brainpower.

Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies, 2005,* **(PDF) p. 13**

Nkrumah has left a valuable intellectual legacy comprising an essential analytical framework in which to comprehend our present reality. Such a legacy and framework remains unmitigatedly relevant for Africans and the African continent today.

Ama Biney, 'The Intellectual and Political Legacies of Kwame Nkrumah', *The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.4, no.10, January 2012,* **(PDF) p. 139**

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FOREWORD

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's attraction to Karl Marx, recorded in Consciencism*, forever commits him to seeing the world* not as a serene whole *but* one in constant agitation *by reason of its dialectical constitution. The study of Marx's dialectical materialism, as well as its derivative historical materialism on the basis of which scientific socialism emerges, vis-á-vis the Hegelian idealist construct and other philosophical systems becomes a consuming passion for him. Thenceforth, he strives to situate his own analysis of social reality within the frame of Marx's dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism.*

Born into humble circumstances in a society of the mystic and the rational *out of which to evolve* in Africa, Dr. Nkrumah emerges as a titan striding not only the geographical and political landscape of the continent and the Diaspora. He strides across the ideologico-philosophical horizons of the African who sincerely strives to break out of the chains of capitalist imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in quest of a scientific socialist-based united Africa.

Committed, till his last breath, to his *class origins*, as differentiated from his *class position*, Dr. Nkrumah – not only as an academician but more importantly as an intellectual inspired by the flames of contemporary history and the aspirations of his forebears and mentors in the liberation struggles of humankind – consciously trains himself in acquisition of knowledge to illuminate the path of the twists and turns of Africa's quest for her freedom.

Fired up by the need to understand Africa's *specific* circumstances among the nations of the world, Dr. Nkrumah seeks such methods and principles of intellectual analysis that yield a perfect depiction of those circumstances. Such depiction requires a portrayal of the specific principles animating the dynamics of *African* social reality. Knowledge of those principles and their application facilitate the aim and objectives of changing Africa into a free society.

Being mindful of the universal (or international) and particular (or national) dimensions of knowledge and their interconnect-

edness he delves deep into the fund of the world's intellectual history in search of the universal methods and principles of analysis. This is where he undertakes critical evaluations of the world's systems of thought in history to *evolve* his thought system. That is not without an initial rejection of Marxist thought which he afterwards adopts.

The moment of his adoption of Marxism seems to us to mark the peak of his formative stages in his intellectual development between the second half of the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s. That suggests that he makes a *transition* from non-Marxian philosophic positions to the Marxist orientation by 1942 when he begins writing his first doctoral dissertation *History and Philosophy of Imperialism with Special Reference to Colonial Problems*.

That dissertation is associated with *Towards Colonial Freedom* which makes a pamphlet out of it between 1942 and 1945. Before these 1940s works, he writes his 1938 essay 'Imperialism: Its Politics, Social and Economic Aspects' which wins him a prize before his graduation in 1939. Three undated essays, 'Is Man Naturally Moral?', 'The Philosophy of Property' and 'The History of the Negro Church', appear in content to pre-date that of 1938.

A second dissertation *Mind and Thought in Primitive Society – A Study in Ethno-Philosophy With Special Reference to the Akan Peoples of the Gold Coast, West Africa* is written in 1944. In its line of thought, it is preceded by two articles on education in Africa. The first, 'Primitive Education in West Africa', is published in *Educational Outlook*, Volume XV Number 2 January 1941 while the second, 'Education and Nationalism in Africa', appears in *Educational Outlook*, Volume XVIII Number 1 November 1943.

As indicated above, a careful study shows the two dissertations to, respectively, map up themes in political economy and philosophic anthropology. In this way, while the first leads through *Towards Colonial Freedom* and *Africa Must Unite* to *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* the second ends up in *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonisation*. The history of these dissertations is marked by their Marxist theoretical perspective. In this regard, many of the late 1930s essays appear as *transitional*.

As in all transitions one observes conflicts in thought. Ama Biney, who considers the first dissertation as evidence of Dr. Nkrumah's viewing 'the world from a Marxist theoretical perspective' and sees him bearing 'an undogmatic Marxist and Pan-African outlook', quotes him from 'The Philosophy of Property' as stating that communistic theories are idealistic and impractical, seeming unsuccessful where tried; and that the principles of communism contradict human nature and the original nature of property.

Biney also quotes him from his 'Is Man Naturally Moral?' asserting that he subscribes to the theory that Man is not born with morals but that his moral or immoral action is determined by the mores and customs of society. One observes the tension between these respective quoted assertions since the second (in this paragraph) is not contradicted in Marxist/communist theory which even goes further specifically to trace the determination of morality in the conflict of class interests in socio-economic production.

Happily, such tensions are resolved in the second dissertation in which Marxist materialist dialectics is upheld and applied as in the article 'Education and Nationalism in Africa'. We are thus in neat acknowledgement of the fact that like all of us Dr. Nkrumah's ideas undergo stages of development. We, however, hold that *before* the 1945 Pan-African Congress he goes *beyond* the transition and *settles* on Marxism as his world outlook. To go beyond this to assert that even in the 1960s he is *yet* to be Marxism-firm is incorrect.

Our anxiety here is to point out that by 1944 Dr. Nkrumah develops a *Marxist class perspective* through the prism of which he analyses society and proffers solutions for development. At *every* turn in his references to Marx, he accords him the respect of an authority on the issue at stake though he focuses on Marx's *universal principles* in avoidance of dogmatism. This attitude runs through his *entire* works spanning the period of his student activism in the 1940s through that of nationalist politics in the 1950s and beyond.

***

There is this very unfortunate practice among scholars that tends to confuse *ideology* and *pragmatism (that is, practicality)*. The two are mistakenly conceived to be antithetic. For, resort to

pragmatic moves is common to every ideology. A pragmatic move *within* an ideological framework does not contradict that ideology but seeks to exploit occasions to realize the aim or objective of the ideology when a path is blocked within the given situation. Thus, instead of armed struggle a democratic struggle is waged – for instance.

This applies to Dr. Nkrumah's *political practice* in the era of anti-communism when the situation in the Gold Coast is dominated by an armed barbaric colonial administration prepared to brutalize an unarmed people. The barbaric brutality displayed during the peaceful march by ex-servicemen just two months after Dr. Nkrumah's return and commencement of political mobilization and organization remains fresh in people's minds. The work of the Watson Commission exhibits paranoia of 'the communist threat'.

Hence, throughout the period leading to independence in 1957 Dr. Nkrumah remains cautious in *language and action* lest the process leading to political freedom be compromised. Even in 1954 he goes to Parliament to announce to the august house that in future no communist is to be appointed or employed by the state organs when there are *virtually no communists* among the population and *he* is the number one communist around. The move is devised as a way of tactically easing colonial fears of future communism.

That's why *after* independence not only does he organize a Pan-African conference inclusive of African Marxist revolutionaries among others. He becomes frequent in his references to socialism openly and even goes on after the attainment of republican status to inaugurate the Winneba Ideological Institute to train Marxist activists. Personnel of the organs of state are then required to spend time at the Institute to clean the colonial rot in their minds to render those organs viable for operation of socialist programmes.

***

In addition to those unfavourable anti-communist conditions of the colonial era and the imperative of working within the *existing* state organs, Dr. Nkrumah also faces the development of an *embryonic bourgeoisification* of African society. In the spirit of Marx's orientation against the atomization of society and the elimination of class conflict for a communist society, he commits

to stultifying that embryo as against facilitating its development. Bourgeoisification is not to be encouraged but nipped in the bud – a difficult task.

Given these inhibitions and pressures, his government adopts the *tactical* grant of leverage to the nurturing of bourgeois property in subordination to the state sector. This is, then, *counter-balanced* by the conscious denial of state support to it. Though unintended, this leverage rather proves sufficient to foster the emergent bourgeois forces and relations of production. The emergent pressures from such relations are that significant to generate socio-economico-political aberrations in self-defence against socialist construction.

***

We are very anxious to make it clear to students of Dr. Nkrumah that suggestions to the effect that the development of his Marxist bent of mind is in *stages* over the *entire* period of his *career* are not well thought out and run contrary to the history of his theoretical growth and maturity. We contend that just as one does not take a *whole* lifetime to *understand* that 2 + 2 = 4 and to apply it, so does he not take the *entire* period of 1935-72 *learning* his Marxist theory in *stages*. *Before* his return in 1947, his grasp of Marxism is *set*.

It is his *application* of that theory that guides him to take set tactical steps *forwards* and *backwards* in his *practical politics* in pursuit of independence and socialist construction. Any suggestions of such *steps in politics* being the mark of an immature mind *yet to attain its Marxist aptness* and, therefore, constituting *stages* of its *theoretical* advance are flawed. That move from *politics* to *theory* constitutes a *methodological absurdity*. It is akin to raising issues with someone's *grasp* of a mathematical *principle* from the mode of its *application*.

Revolutionary politics is *not* a mathematical calculation that points in one direction *only* at *all times*. Such revolutionary politics as seeks to arrive at solutions *mathematically* can only be *dogmatic*. That is the kind of dogmatism that Dr. Nkrumah checks in Anthony Woode when he timeously fires and reinstates him. It is best avoided by *applying* Marxism to *Africa's* reality. In fact, in the paper 'On the Question of Who Founded Ghana', published in the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism*, December 2014, we observe thus:

> Revolution is an art. It has been stated. Revolution is a science. Others have held. These are an expression of seeing the elephant from different angles. Revolution is both an art and a science. As a science it is studied to track down its laws of motion. As an art it involves a plot in which actors play roles that come to them as a matter of course. The point, therefore, is to be armed with the knowledge of these laws and apply them not only in analysing specific situations in their historical context in order to decide on what action to take but also in the selection of the actors for specific roles. Those in the vanguard and those in the mass complement and constitute a whole – the mass being the prime agency of change. The efficiency of the vanguard resides in its ability to gauge the dispositions of the mass and the enemy's strength. To act immediately in a particular direction or postpone action until future conditions permit depends on that ability. In the current situation the revolutionary creates those future conditions to later realize the immediately impossible. Revolution is the game of the one immersed in theory as well as in practice. This is the lesson of the revolutionary life of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah …

***

This book conducts a historical exploration of the evolution of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's thought and practice system *vis-á-vis* the ideologico-philosophical as well as political economy framework of Marxism within the process of state formation in Ghana since the pre-colonial era. Herein, we attempt to develop his thought system in socialist and communist *ideological* clarification, *philosophical* elucidation and illumination of Africa's *political economy* within the setting of Marxism-Nkrumaism which is his application of Marxism to African society to generate socialism.

Clearly, then, our motivation here stems from the need to combat non-Marxian shallow and dry academic treatments of the life and works of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in universities across the world so as to restore his thought system to its *Marxist* premises informed by the principle of intra-African and international *class struggles*. This invites us to map out a living strategy for the practical execution of his programme of Revolutionary Pan-

Africanism under the banner of Marxism-Nkrumaism within our current conditions.

In his days, Dr. Nkrumah does not inherit an indigenous *socialist* African development blueprint to guide him. He pioneers it with eyes set on the inherited principles and values of our evaporating *communal* past. As such a pioneer, he stoops to conquer. He leaves us with the resultant analytical legacy of Marxism-Nkrumaism. Our task, then, is to try to critically *develop* it in its theoretico-practical complexities and multi-facetted dimensions so as to understand *Africa* and build the liberating socialist united Africa of his dreams.

That's our charge to keep – evolving a socialist African society that projects the African Personality from the debris of colonization and colonial rundown of Africans through subversion of our history to obliterate our image as bearers of African civilization in burial of our self-confidence as a people with pride! The African Genius that underscores the African Personality deserves to radiate ever more brilliantly today. We have a tradition to behold and develop – a tradition of resistance and resilience – and a culture to project.

We shall overcome!

Let's Remain Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

September 21 2015

PREFACE

The concept of 'Marxism-Nkrumaism', but not that of 'Nkrumaism', appears to send the ripples down the spine of several 'Nkrumaists' in Ghana, Africa and the Diaspora. The unease with the former concept stems from apprehensions that are not easily discernible. For, even progressive thinkers and activists who are agreeable to proposals of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's thought system being set up on the basis of Marxist philosophy and ideology suffer such unease.

In the recent past, we had occasion to make phone calls to some of our comrades before referring to them as 'Marxist-Nkrumaists' in a write-up under preparation. Four are involved. The question put to each is: 'Would it be correct to refer to you as a Marxist-Nkrumaist?' The first responds in the affirmative. The second states that although he understands Dr. Nkrumah's thought system as based on Marxist principles he prefers being known as Nkrumaist.

The third likewise accepts the Marxist premises as the basis of Dr. Nkrumah's thought system but would not want to be referred to as a Marxist-Nkrumaist because, to the best of his knowledge, Dr. Nkrumah never refers to himself as such. The fourth cannot pick the call and so an SMS is sent to him but to no avail. Meeting in person later, he says he does not have any problem being referred to as a Marxist-Nkrumaist. He acknowledges receipt of the SMS.

From the African-American Diaspora a comrade asks us whence we came by the concept of 'Marxism-Nkrumaism', from the works of Dr. Nkrumah? We concede to him that none of the latter's *direct* works makes reference to that concept. The only such reference, we state, is in a reported discussion with his literary executrix, Mrs June Milne. The latter reports him to have used the concept in her book *Kwame Nkrumah – The Conakry Years*.

At pages 195-6, Milne reports that in a discussion with Dr. Nkrumah between November 15 and 22, 1967 the latter refers to himself as 'A Marxist, rather than a Leninist'. According to her, he understands Leninism as 'Marxism plus Bolshevism i.e. the *Russian* application of Marxism, the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat'. He holds the 'Latter not applicable to Africa' where it 'must be the dictatorship of the masses – Marxism-Nkrumaism', Milne says.

In the Foreword to this book, we explain Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's quest for a method and principles of analysis to be applied to the *specificity* of the *African* condition to generate an understanding of the dynamics of African reality. We indicate therein that he finds these in Marxist philosophy and ideology. It is instructive to notice in Milne's narrative that this concern on the part of Dr. Nkrumah to offer an analysis of the *African* reality *independently* is observed.

It is also instructive to notice that on those same pages Milne tells us that in that discussion with Dr. Nkrumah he explains that the 'Essence of Marxism-Nkrumaism is contained in *Towards Colonial Freedom*'. So that, as explained in our Foreword, Dr. Nkrumah's commitment to the Marxist analytical perspective dates back to the early 1940s. His conception of Marxism is clearly understood as *an applicable analytical construct* just like other scientific paradigms.

Therein resides the *independence* of Marxism-Nkrumaism. And this is important. For, there is the need to ease the anxieties of those who think that conjoining Marxism with Nkrumaism entails a *loss* of *African* progressive intellectual-ideological independence – that is, submission to certain overbearing Marxist-Leninists. Those who clamour for the 'independence of Nkrumaism from Marxism' appear unaware of *their* own use of *Marxist* analytical concepts like 'mode of production', 'productive forces', 'materialist dialectics'.

Surely, there is a universal *erroneous conflation* of Marxism with Marxism-Leninism. Dr. Nkrumah, therefore, has good reason for distinguishing the one from the other in his reported observation that Leninism is the *application* of Marxism to *Russian* social reality. Any serious study of Marxism-Leninism confirms this and shows it as the application of the *universal* principles of Marxism but *not* its *particular* principles relating to the European specificity. Marxism-Nkrumaism equally applies Marxism's *universals* to Africa's reality.

It is certainly disturbing that these semi-radical Afrocentrists, who surely make an advance over traditional Afrocentrism – which latter rather shuns the application of Marxist analytical

concepts – tend to justify their usage of the Marxist concepts upon the absurd claim that those concepts are of an *African origin* and that they do not require Marx to know about them. They cite Ibn Khaldun for it. They share such misconception with Prof. A. M. Babu, a rabid anti-Nkrumaist, who refers to Ibn Khaldun as an African who was 'the first ''marxian'' thinker before Marx'. Babu is therein engaged in itemizing African firsts in world history.

Talking about *The Muqaddimah*, written by Ibn Khaldun and which is the source of most of the claims made in support of that misconception, Caroline Stone, in her *Ibn Khaldun and the Rise and Fall of Empires*, credits Ibn Khaldun with creating a new discipline of social science that treats human civilization and social facts in an interconnected whole. This, she adds, helps to change the way history is perceived and written. According to her, Ibn Khaldun locates the motive force of history in the *social solidarity* of a tribal society under a strong leader who then runs over a *complacent* advanced civilization. The conqueror settles into complacency and is similarly overrun. The cycle continues *ad infinitum*.

That is Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history. Assuming this to be so, we read nothing in *The Muqaddimah* about the *source* of the tribal society's solidarity that enables it overrun sophisticated societies. We read nothing about that society's *internal dynamics* apart from its *degree of blood purity* and internal consensus on aims. There is no reference to that society's *mode of production* in which *forces of production* and *production relations* interact through the *creative activity of its masses* to spawn that solidarity – as Marx does.

Certainly, Ibn Khaldun advances historiography in his going beyond the simple historical chronicles of his days. But this *metaphysical*, non-dialectical, conception of a cyclical history that has no prospect of being broken to *explain* the *qualitative* development of society *in stages* is short of the insights of historical materialism and *cannot be equated to it*. Furthermore, the resort to 'complacency' as an *analytical* category to *explain* the fall of an empire is too lame a method in history to make a scientific impact.

Coming on to further detail, the semi-radical Afrocentrists hold that Marxist *dialectics* is likewise *anticipated* in *The Muqaddimah*. The least said about this the better. It is just suffi-

cient to state here that in the entire pages of *The Muqaddimah* the word 'dialectics' appears six times and that in all those appearances it relates to *language* and *juridical disputation* but not the *contradictoriness* in *nature* and *society* and how this plays out in development. In this respect, read Ibn Khaldun's definition of dialectics at p. 595 thus:

> "Dialectics" involves knowledge of the proper behaviour in disputations among the adherents of the legal schools and others. The choices of rejection and acceptance in disputations are numerous. In arguing and answering, each disputant lets himself go in his argumentation. Some of it is correct. Some of it is wrong. Therefore, the authorities had to lay down the proper rules of behaviour by which the disputants would have to abide. These concern rejection and acceptance; how the person advancing an argument should behave and how the person replying to the argument should behave; when it is permissible for a disputant to advance an argument; how he (should admit) defeat and stop; when he should interrupt or contradict (his opponent); and where he should be silent and permit his opponent to talk and advance his arguments. It has, therefore, been said that this discipline is the knowledge of the basic rules of proper behaviour in arguing which help either to safeguard an opinion or to demolish it, whether that opinion concerns jurisprudence or any other subject.

The question is: what has this *jurisprudential* definition of dialectics got to do with materialist dialectics as offered in Marxism? What is in it that Karl Marx learns for the construction of dialectical and historical materialism? What semblance do we observe between the two usages? Zero. Hence, this unwarranted stretch of the imagination to see in *The Muqaddimah* and Ibn Khaldun what cannot be found there is an unfortunate act surprising of Prof. Babu and the semi-radical Afrocentrists. Is it intellectual dishonesty?

We might not necessarily say so. For, in *The Muqaddimah* there is a section captioned 'The Real Meaning of Prophesy' where we are presented with a metaphysical concept of the world. This concept projects a *dualist* theory of *creation* whereby *material* and *Spiritual worlds* connect by *gradual process*. It might *appear akin* to the Marxist concept of the interconnectedness of phenomena in the *world* such that one phenomenon *evolves* from the other and interacts with it. That is a false appearance. It could be deceptive.

As if that is not enough, the said Afrocentrists venture into the field of political economy to claim that Marx's labour theory of value has its antecedence in Ibn Khaldun. Certainly, Ibn Khaldun projects a labour theory of value but it is by far different from Adam Smith's labour theory of value which serves as Karl Marx's basis for his critique of bourgeois political economy. Ibn Khaldun's version is metaphysical in the sense that it perceives *value* in terms of the *individual's* labour input in his/her productive activity, *simplicita*.

For him, therefore, the size of the entire value created in a given society is directly proportional to the size of its *population*. A small population means to him a low level of value production. A large one means a high level of value production. Marx, on the other hand, perceives and crucially considers *labour-time* expended in the production. Significantly, he perceives the capitalist economy to conceive value creation *only* in a process of *social* production that yields *surplus-value* and without which latter *no value* is seen created.

In Ibn Khaldun's scheme of affairs, the *individual* appropriates the *entire* value that his labour creates. Out of this only the tax paid to the authorities is appropriated. The idea of a *surplus-value* that is appropriated by a second person other than the provider of labour *in the production process* is alien to him. Class dynamics in the *social process of production* is, therefore, absent in Ibn Khaldun. His set allusion to classes relates to his claim that *God* establishes classes, one in dominance over the other, to enforce *co-operation*.

Contrary to this concept of a *God-ordained (permanent) forceful* co-operation of free-thinking independent individuals in Ibn Khaldun's mind, Marx conceives of conflicting *class interests* in *the production process* as the occasion of co-operation within one class against the other and the emergence of the State as a class apparatus to hold down one class in favour of the other. Out of this process, Marx holds, capitalist state is abolished and superseded by that which withers away to usher in free universal co-operation.

Ibn Khaldun's political economy grows out of a *conservative* feudal and religious mind that constructs its categories in *metaphysical* terms whereas Marx positions himself in *materialist dialectics* to provide us with a scientific understanding of the world's processes in a very conscious move to effect a *revolu-*

tionary reconstruction of society. The two gentlemen differ so much in their conception of the world and its phenomena that one wonders whether Karl Marx ever knows of Ibn Khaldun whom he is said to have inherited.

In their effort to ostracize Marxism from Dr. Nkrumah's thought and practice, the semi-radical Afrocentrists raise issues with materialist philosophical assertions concerning the *sole reality of matter*. In *Consciencism*, Dr. Nkrumah asserts the *primary reality of matter* rather than its sole reality. In the appropriate chapter of this book we address the problematic involved. Here, just because the issue is raised in a pointless effort to dissociate Marxism from Marxism-Nkrumaism, we need only state that Dr. Nkrumah is not a *dualist*.

This becomes clear when we also address the issue of the nature of *matter* in the light of advances made in the physical sciences. The contentions are varied within the philosophical materialist school. All of these, we contend, do not invalidate the assertion of the Marxist basis of the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah – Marxism-Nkrumaism. We are dead certain about this.

It is our hope that this book achieves its purpose of not only providing an authentic history of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's system of thought and practice – Marxism-Nkrumaism – but also critically contributes to its development.

Let's Remain Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

October 17 2015

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHOD OF PRESENTATION

Central to the research methodology adopted here is the principle of distinguishing an activist's *shortcomings* from their *difficulties*. For, we conceive shortcomings as pertaining to one's grasp of an ideology and its philosophy *in degree* of insight. Difficulties, on the other hand, relate to *application* of an ideologico-philosophical system in the face of material obstacles in the process of realizing the aims, objectives and aspirations of its programmes. Distinction of this nature separates the activist from the academician.

The academician is pre-occupied with fault-finding in an activist's consistency in matching latter's declared intentions with actions. Difficulties on the activist's part are subordinated to needs for consistency in realization and are generally overlooked in the analytical process. For the academician, therefore, an activist's failure to realize a declared intention either amounts to the latter's lack of expertise in handling definite situations or misdemeanour. That is not a scientific way of looking at an activist's efforts.

This suggests another principle of research to us – getting into the mind of the political actor. It impresses on us to focus primarily on the said actor rather than the judgmental accounts of academicians or professional scholars. This further impresses on us the need to consider documented speeches, actions and writings of actors as being of prime importance. Statements made in such documents are themselves subjected to scrutiny of fact. For, *post-partum* accounts can be misleading rationalizations.

In this respect, speeches made and actions taken on the spare of the moment have a pride of place in our research options. Written speeches immediately follow suit. Interviews are also treated in the same spirit of placing priority on those granted in the heat of the moment over those formally arranged. To guard against according automatic credibility to statements made on the spare of the moment we subject them to tests of comparison

in consistence with previous statements. Some of such statements are inadvertent.

Our third principle of research involves the use of works by those in academia. These works, judgmental though they tend to be, are a source of pointers to *primary* sources. The academician's interest in showcasing their wide-reading to promote their professorial ambitions provides an activist-researcher those useful pointers to primary material. In our resort to this principle we do not just look for pointers to primary material but also take note of deductions made in the academician's works for possible deconstruction.

These stated principles are then situated within a fourth principle which is *a philosophy of history* that guides in tracing the dynamics at play in the given period from the received data. On our part the materialist conception of history or historical materialism serves this function of a philosophy of history in this book. This means viewing the collected data through the eyes of the class struggle as the *immediate* manifestation of the *fundamental* interactions within and between the complexes of modes of production in the society.

In the presentation of our research findings, therefore, we focus on mapping out Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's intellectual development as evidenced by his own writings, speeches and actions as well as credible claims by persons close to him within the parameters of the class struggle. Conclusively, we portray his *difficulties* but not so-called *shortcomings* while engaged in the international and national class struggles in combat with colonialism and forces of the domestic bourgeoisification process in Ghana and Africa.

This is a critical presentation that seeks not only to appreciate the *difficulties* that Dr. Nkrumah encounters in his application of the principles of Marxism to the African reality in his execution of the international and national class struggles in Africa. It also seeks to track down specific principles of thought generated in his mind out of gathered experiences from dealing with the *African reality* to evolve Marxism-Nkrumaism as a specific ideologico-philosophical system for the analysis and guidance of African society.

This system is then critically appraised to develop it.

In this undertaking we depart from the academic and scholarly practice of Ivory Towerism that sits the academician and scholar in majestic pontification on *what should have been done* while they sit there providing *no* practical programmes for the final liberation and reconstruction of Mother Africa. Ours is to develop on our bequest to render Marxism-Nkrumaism a more powerful scientific tool for the diagnosis of Africa's ailments to raise this continent from its position of subservience to the status of independent actor.

To this end we propose a programmatic framework to wage the anti-neo-colonial struggle against imperialism and capitalism to evolve a socialist African society under the guidance of Marxism-Nkrumaism ... History fills the mind. It must also fill the stomach.

PART ONE – EVOLUTION OF A MARXIST PAN-AFRICANIST

CHAPTER ONE

In the Manger of the Mystic and the Rational

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is delivered into an environmental manger of a society not only dominated by a foreign power but also where local resistance to that power already has a history of its own in protection of indigenous land resources. This struggle takes place in the surrounding of an indigenous culture besieged by that of the foreign power. The latter's culture is consciously promoted, as a means of internalizing acquiescence to that foreign domination in the indigenous mind, in supplement to the use of physical force.

In that environmental manger, Dr. Nkrumah inherits the history of resistance which he then develops in its use of the technique of *mass struggle* applied before the dawn of the 20th century. But this is not without going through the contradictory process of cultural training *simultaneously* in the hands of indigenous traditional nurturing and Euro-Christian education by agents of the colonizing power. In this chapter, we see Dr. Nkrumah's state of orientation shaped by *that* process before he leaves to study abroad in 1935.

This definition of his orientation requires a brief historical survey of the pre-colonial landscape and the colonization process in the 19th century. That portrayal aids our understanding of the evolution of British colonial policy which determines the *nature* of the forms of resistance offered by our anti-colonial forces. Such historically evolved forms of resistance are thus observed as the basic arsenal marshalled by African political actors in the 20th century to restore political power to Africans across the continent … for starters.

Dr. Nkrumah, as one of such political actors, gloriously emerges as a bearer-developer of African tradition and culture in a historical statement of the African Personality underscored by the African Genius within the fine ideologico-philosophical frame of Marxism-Nkrumaism – the weapon of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for the finalization of the liberation struggle – worked out from his learned persuasion that Africa's cultural

crucible must be the receptacle within which the Islamo-Euro-Christian experiences are digested.

That is, if the de-colonization as well as the de-neo-colonization of the *African mind and economy* as well as *socio-political institutions* are very truly to be a reality of our African existence.

1
Land and Culture in the Pre-Colonial Era

The total land area of Ghana is 237,873 sq. km. It is peopled by several majority and minority ethnicities which are also referred to as nationalities that exist as autonomies during the pre-colonial era. Its history at the time is characterized by the dominance of *land* collectively owned as the most important means of production.[11] The prevailing mode of production, by which the entire population lives primarily through shifting hoe cultivation and fallowing,[12] is regarded as egalitarian with humanistic values.[13]

That mode of production, in its exactness, is characterised as one of communalism which, in each of the independent ethnicities, is at either its middle or last stage of development.[14] Prof. Ansa Asamoa explains that that mode of production in the pre-colonial past operates 'according to the law of subsistence rather than the law of value'.[15] By this he means that though the peasant produces over his subsistence and sells the surplus product (i.e. produces *exchange value*) that does not negate the pervading law of subsistence.[16]

In this section we trace the development of subsistence production in terms of land use and ownership; the organization of labour; how this labour organization generates produce over and above the level required for sheer subsistence; how the surplus produce in food production in turn generates a social division of labour that opens the way to trading activities and markets; the consequence of these activities being the emergence of trade

[11] Asamoa, Ansa, *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience*, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1996, pp. 13-14
[12] Ibid. p. 2
[13] Botwe-Asamoah, Kwame, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies – An African-Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution*, Routledge, New York & London, 2005, (PDF) p. x
[14] Ansa Asamoa, op. cit., p. 13
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. p. 16 In his view the scope of exchange value is too limited. This suggests that a capitalist economy, which operates by the law of value, is not yet developed at the time.

routes connecting communities that develop into growing kingdoms and empires.

By this process we observe the cultural dynamics[17] derived from the operation of the law of subsistence as it develops and gives way to the law of value that begins to transform the communal mode of production. The said transformation is seen to issue in a nascent evolution of private property not only in ownership of the produce harvested within the communal system but now also in the ownership of land. The dialectic of the individual's right to land *use* and the land's communal *ownership* runs through the narrative.

These processes greatly help us appreciate the enormousness of Dr. Nkrumah's task of terminating the budding bourgeoisification centuries later. For, that trend takes its roots from a *historically-developed* indigenous antecedent predisposition towards private property accumulation. Maxims very reflective of this pre-colonial development are replete in the language of the Akan, for instance. Our collective appreciation of the dynamics of such processes assures scientific applications leading us out to socialist revolution.

***

During the pre-colonial era when agriculture is the occupation of the entire population, as stated, land serves as the most important means of production which is collectively owned.[18] Prof. Kwame Gyekye confirms this pattern of ownership when he states that 'land, a fundamental property in African societies, is communally owned'.[19] According to Lt-Col R. H. Rowe, 'land which apparently is ''individually owned'' is merely occupied by the individual during his lifetime and reverts to the Tribe, Stool or family on his death'.[20]

[17] This, therefore, goes beyond the kind of Asante economic history provided in, say, Gareth Austin, *Land, Labour and Capital in Ghana – From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante 1807-1956*, University of Rochester Press, 2005, (PDF).

[18] Asamoa, Ansa, *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience*, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1996, pp. 13-14

[19] Gyekye, Kwame, *African Cultural Values – An Introduction*, Sankofa Publishing Company, Accra, Ghana, 1993, p. 96

[20] Austin, Gareth, *Land, Labour and Capital in Ghana – From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante 1807-1956*, University of Rochester Press, 2005, (PDF) p. 340. Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Rowe was the Surveyor-General of the Gold Coast from 1920 to 1927. So that even in the 20th century the practice holds on.

Capt. R. S. Rattray is emphatic in stating that 'individual ownership in land was literally unknown'.[21] So also does Prof. Gyekye confirm this in saying that 'an individual *cannot* personally own a portion of the clan or ancestral land'.[22] But he apparently contradicts this when he asserts the possibility 'for an individual to hold private property in land'. Of course, he does not provide evidence to this effect. He rather seeks to do that through pointing out that land belonging to the *clan* or *lineage* is not *public* but *private*.[23]

This assertion of a clan's *communal*[24] land not being *public*[25] but *private* is not merely a matter of semantics. It is one of a mix-up in *historical periodization* in the evolution of private property in land.[26] For, indeed, land in historical space and time *later* becomes an object subject to an individual's ownership through various means. What appears to lead to this mix-up is that Prof. Gyekye contrasts clan or lineage land property with the land property that the clan or lineage owns *together* with *other* clans or lineages.

He, therefore, sees a clan's or lineage's own land as *private* and the land of the *community* to which that clan belongs as *public*. It is in this sense that he converts a clan's land, which he admits to be communally owned, into a private property[27]; though not a private property of an *individual* person. To reinforce this con-

[21] Ibid. p. 126

[22] Gyekye, op. cit., p. 97 Italics added. Here the clan land is seen as a *communal* land.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid. p. 97 That Prof. Gyekye understands clan lands as communal lands is clearly illustrated in this cited page thus: 'It is true … that land, a fundamental property in African societies, is *communally owned*. The chief or the head of the *lineage* or *clan* is the custodian of the land. His position is that of a trustee, holding the land for the clan or the whole community (village or town). He is invested with the power to manage and administer the *communal property*, but he is under an obligation to do so in the interests of the members of the community or lineage (clan), all of whom also have a title or right to claim ownership of the land itself.' This shows that whether at the level of the clan or lineage or the community or village or town the principle of *communal land ownership* applies.

[25] Ibid. 154 Here, he uses 'communal' and 'public' interchangeably, i.e., as equivalents in the last paragraph. And, thus, compounds the mix-up.

[26] Ibid. 155 Here, he is in *doubt* as to whether private property has always been in African society or that it evolves. His exact words are that '*It cannot be said with certainty when* in the history of the economic development of the African society the concept of private property was fully accepted. *Perhaps it has always been there*, originally in some *embryonic* form, gradually gaining recognition as an economic concept. The right to own private property in time came to be recognized and protected in the African society'. Italics added.

[27] See ibid. p. 176 where he once again implies clan property to be communal property when he distinguishes it from private property in the process of saying that 'Africans seek and put high value on wealth, both private and family (clan).' Here the latter ceases to be private. Moreover, at p. 45, on two occasions he refers to the 'community' as 'group' or 'clan'. Such inconsistent usages create problems as to where he really stands. At one page a clan is an private property owner. At the next it is communal.

cept of the clan's or lineage's land *as private property* he goes on to depict it as 'corporate ownership' in the *capitalist* but not *communalist* sense of the word 'corporate'.[28] This is truly derived from his seeing *mysterious* 'capitalistic … elements' *in* communal African society.[29]

Prof. Gyekye's failure to introduce *capitalist* private property in *land* into the pre-colonial African society requires an explanation of the *use* of land that creates the false impression of *capitalist* land ownership therein. That account compels the need to clarify that by 'pre-colonial history' we distinguish *within* that era between the periods *before* the *emergence* of chieftaincy and its *establishment* (state formation) prior to the European arrival on the one hand; and between that whole era and colonialism on the other hand.[30]

***

Literature on land *ownership* before the institution of chieftaincy appears slim on the continent.[31] The acephalous (stateless) society that precedes state formation under chieftaincy appears to have disappeared in the forest zone in the 15th century although in the coastal zone of Ghana it still exists during that time among the Ga, Adangbe[32] and Ewe. In the northern half of Ghana, evi-

[28] Ibid. 97 In fact, what Prof. Gyekye does here is to erroneously *import* into communal society the *capitalist* meaning of being 'corporate' which latter also has its *communalist* meaning of being 'communal'. He is historically mistaken to apply the *capitalist* meaning here since the *law of value* which defines the operation of capitalism is not operational in a communal society that runs on the *law of subsistence*.

[29] Ibid. p. 176 Prof. Gyekye appears to see *any* private property type as a *capitalist* property even where the *law of value* does not operate. That he sees 'capitalistic elements' in an *individual's* accumulation efforts from *that* individual's *solo* exertion of his/her *own labour* within a society ruled by the *law of subsistence* rather than by the *law of value* exhibits his mechanistic/non-dialectical appreciation of the socio-historical process. For, how could one see *capitalism* (exploitation of the labour of *others*) in the middle half of the *subsistence communal* economy of the pre-colonial era when the exploitation of others' labour *is not yet* the rule? It is *inappropriate* to employ such capitalistic *renditions* of concepts like 'corporate' at that time. Only within capitalism (where *exploitation* of the labour of *others* is the rule) would it click. In this respect, James Weeks, in the introduction to his *The Law of Value and the Analysis of Underdevelopment* (1998), states that it is *only* in the period of capitalism that the law of value *prevails*. Historiographical cautiousness, bearing *periodization* in mind, is here required of our dear Professor.

[30] Such periodization is not often observed by scholars. It enables us see the *transition* from communalism to semi-feudalism and its consequences for land ownership.

[31] At HTTP://CRAWFURD.DK/AFRICA/GHANA_TIMELINE.HTM we also read: 'Similar to most of Africa, the history of pre-colonial Ghana is not known in complete details. This is due to years of neglect from colonisers and western historians, but also has to do with the nature of traditional African storytelling, which is oral (not written). Furthermore there has only been a limited amount of archaeological finds.'

[32] The Adangbe are variously referred to as 'Dangbe' or 'Dangme' indiscriminately. In this book, as is the practice of the indigenes, we use 'Adangbe' or 'Dangbe' in refer-

dence of many such societies is replete. By the close of the 19th century such acephalous societies evolve or are absorbed[33] into chieftaincies.[34]

Marijke Steegstra, for instance, states that the Krobo (Klo) of the Adangbe are said to occupy the Krobo Mountain from around the 14th century when they establish the first series of settlements made up of 'small groups' between then and the 17th century.[35] Veit Arlt also refers to 'the transformation of the Dangme and Ewe states (sic) from priestly to chiefly rule.'[36] It is not until the first half of the 19th century that they have their first paramount chiefs in Konor Odonkor Azu at Manya and Konor Ologo Patu at Yilo.[37] Until then the settlements have priests (*Djemeli*) as clan heads.[38]

The Chakali, like the Konkomba and many other ethnic entities in northern Ghana, similarly bear an acephalous social system in the pre-colonial era. H. S. Daannaa, in his *The Acephalous Society and the Indirect Rule System in Africa: British Colonial Administrative Policy in Retrospect* 1994, gives us quite graphic details of how the Chakali acephalous system operates until the inception of the colonial system which incorporates them into Wala chieftaincy.[39] Like the Krobo they are led by clan elders and 'earthpriests'.[40]

Prof. Awedoba refers to the Konkomba as living in small villages and autonomous settlements 'lacking in centralized organiza-

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ence to the *people* and 'Adangme' or 'Dangme' to refer to their *language*. The literature on the Ga, Adangbe and Ewe people is not unanimous as to the acephalous or cephalous nature of their systems. Some even place them in-between as 'theocracies'.

[33] That is, *forcibly* into existing chieftaincies through the Indirect System of Rule of the British administration.

[34] That is, 'state societies'.

[35] Steegstra, Marijke, *Dipo and the Politics of Culture in Ghana*, Woeli Publishing Services, Accra Newtown, Ghana, 2005, pp. 30-31, 77. Viet Arlt has the same information at Chapter 2 p. 52 in the reference immediately cited below where, at p. 77, he describes 'Krobo Mountain … as the cradle and centre of Krobo society'.

[36] Arlt, Veit, *Christianity, Imperialism and Culture – The Expansion of the Two Krobo States in Ghana, c. 1830 to 1930*, Basel, 2005, p. 9. See Steegstra, op. cit., pp. 76-86

[37] Steegstra op. cit., pp. 58 and 46, 76-86

[38] See Arlt Veit, op. cit., Chapters 2 and 3 for the historical narrative.

[39] Daannaa, op. cit., pp. 4 and 9 where we see that the Chakali are placed under the Wala of Wa, their former friendly neighbouring state society, whose new authority they resist. See also Awedoba, A. K., *The Peoples of Northern Ghana*, 22/5/2006, p. 9 where the Chakali acknowledge Gonja rule. This apparent conflict between the two accounts appears to stem from the Wala-Gonja Wars during which some people of Chakali take refuge under the Gonja who, according to Awedoba, have 'a resident Gonja Chief living among them'. According to Daannaa, the Wala, who also have a resident Chief among the Chakali on Chakaliland, tend to abuse their power over the Chakali (op. cit. p. 20).

[40] Awedoba, op. cit., p. 2

tion and native rulers' and, therefore, have no paramountcies in the pre-colonial era.[41] What semblance of authority they have then is vested in 'elders of the lineage whose members were first to settle in the area'. There are also earthpriests from a different lineage. But although the elders and earthpriests control 'ritual sanctions', they are not rulers and command no obedience from the people.[42]

Like the Konkomba, the Ga are projected by Encyclopedia.com as developing 'from a series of contiguous settlements formed at different times by different peoples who developed a coherent but flexible sense of Ga identity'. Upon their arrival they either displace or intermarry with the Kpeshi people. It states that they have been living in southern Ghana for over thousand years although it does not know the date of their earliest settlement. All the same, by the 15th century they are flourishing.[43]

Rev. Carl Christian Reindorf[44] corroborates this story about the Ga and Kpeshi. But he also has difficulties with the dating.

To be continued

BACK TO CONTENTS

THE MIND OF KWAME NKRUMAH
Manual for the Study of Consciencism

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

Get your free copy of the new edition of this book with an accompanying free copy of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's book *Consciencism – Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonisation* by clicking here

[41] Awedoba A. K., op. cit., p. 5
[42] Ibid. Today, the Konkomba have paramountcies.
[43] http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Ga.aspx
[44] Carl C. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante – Based on Traditions and Historical Facts, Comprising a Period of more than Three Centuries from about 1500 to 1860*

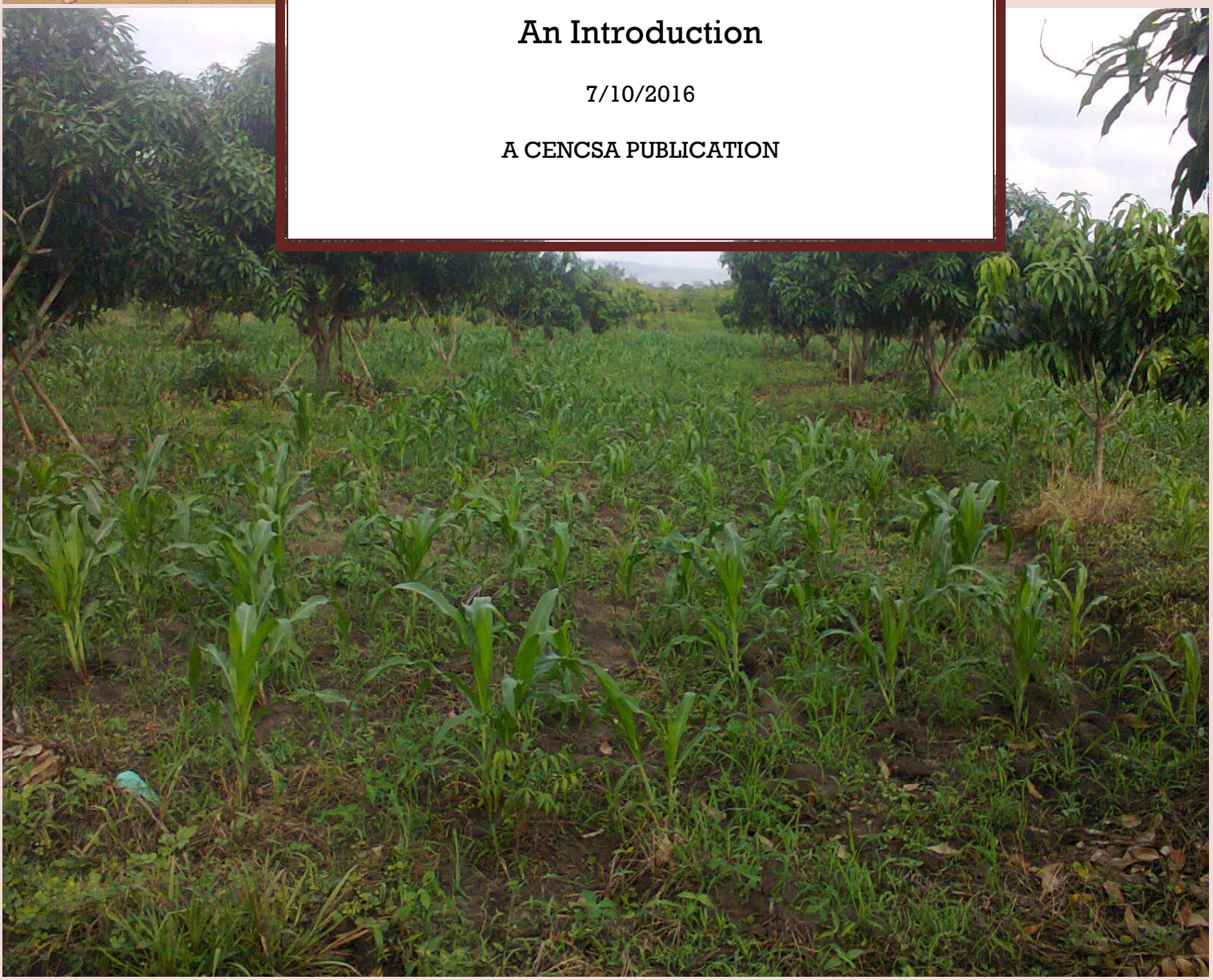
Research and Experiment

AFRICA SOCIAL ENTREPRENEUR NETWORK

An Introduction

7/10/2016

A CENCSA PUBLICATION



What the history of both Keynesianism and neoliberalism show is that it's not enough to oppose a broken system. A *coherent alternative* has to be proposed. For Labour, the Democrats and the wider left, the central task should be to develop an *economic Apollo programme*, a conscious attempt to design a new system, tailored to the demands of the 21st century. – George Monbiot, *Neoliberalism –The Ideology at the Root of all our Problems*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN) acknowledges the contributions of its members in the development of the ideas contained in this pamphlet.

The Freedom Centre in Accra was the venue for the discussions that crystallized into the perspective of the development paradigm mapped out in this pamphlet as a coherent alternative programme for youth self-employment in Africa.

We are grateful to all these gentlemen and the Freedom Centre who have illustrated to us the feasibility of collectivism by the way they co-operated in arriving at this African development paradigm.

May Africa and Africans richly benefit from this endeavour to make a contribution to youth self-employment to resolve the problem of youth unemployment.

Hello!

INVITATION TO AN ASEN INTRODUCTORY SEMINAR

A number of us have initiated what we call the Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN).

It has duly been registered with the Registrar General's Department in Accra as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO).

ASEN fundamentally aims at establishing production and business units on the basis of the collectivist principle.

By that we mean that ASEN shall mobilize resources to provide facilities for groups of youth to run varied collective production and business units (according to their skills and areas of interest) which they shall manage.

They shall pay themselves wages/salaries on the basis of the principle of equity and share profits equally. The production and business units shall run under ASEN's Certificate of Incorporation and the Certificate to Commence Business.

We believe that this system of co-operating working people in collective self-employment, as an alternative to the existing system of volatile private enterprises[45], shall be a more creative way of providing more secure jobs to the teeming mass of unemployed youth in Africa.

We project a network of varied production and business units of self-employed youth whose activities are co-ordinated by and within ASEN.

For starters, our experimentation with the Liberty Ayivi Memorial Mango Plantation (LAMMP) and the soon-to-be-operationalized Victory Catering Services assures us of the efficacy and viability of this project.

We find that opportunities for open, legal and democratic operationalization of such units and their networking exist.

[45] By 'private enterprise' here is meant 'individual enterprise' and/or 'partnership' which employ wage labour that is paid wage/salary but does not share in the profits of the enterprise. It is contrasted with a 'collective enterprise' in which all have wage/salary *and* share profits.

By this, in case you would be interested, we would invite you to AN ASEN INTRODUCTORY SEMINAR at the premises of the Victory Catering Services near Adom FM at Community 2 Tema or some other place for detailed discussion on a date and at a time to be communicated to you later.

Please, indicate your interest to attend the above seminar by sending 'ATTEND' in an SMS or a WhatsApp to the Secretary at 0243011771.

Before the seminar you could arrange for a one-on-one discussion with an official of ASEN through its Secretary at the telephone number indicated immediately above.

Kindly take note that you are not obliged to commit to this Project after that encounter. The choice to commit or not to commit is purely voluntary.

In case you express interest to team up with ASEN, forms[46] would be made available on our blog and at the seminar to facilitate the process.

We Remain Focused, Determined and Bold!

Fraternal Greetings.

Secretary

(Musah Numoh)

[46] A specimen of the form appears here at chapter 4.

1

A BIRD'S EYEVIEW OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE AFRICA SOCIAL ENTREPRENUER NETWORK (ASEN)

In its structural build up and content, the basic rule informing the Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN) is the progressive pursuit and maintenance of the working people's collective control and management of it at all levels. ASEN is owned by the masses of working people operating within its framework at all times as both *workers* and *owners*.

As a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), ASEN aims to develop its organizational set-up independently of State and governmental institutions and structures across the African continent. Such pursuit of institutional-structural independence is an *inviolable* principle.

To ensure compliance with the above principles, ASEN seeks to establish agricultural, agro-industrial and other businesses collectively controlled and managed by the working people in their own interest on the basis of its own infrastructural and capital assets within an integrated network of such businesses.

In amplification of the immediate paragraph above, ASEN seeks that all the workers of the businesses mentioned shall each have a salary based on the principle of equity *and* an equal share in the profits created by collective endeavour after deductions of taxes and social security and insurance contributions made to the appropriate State institutions and organizations.

To encourage this self-employment drive of the youth in various businesses, ASEN shall negotiate with the appropriate State institutions and organizations to grant tax reliefs for its set-ups in line with tax reliefs granted to external investors in the national economy of each country over a period of years.

As a non-profit-making organization, ASEN shall not require each of the established business units to share their profit with it. But it shall require them to make social contributions to its

Social Solidarity Fund to help establish other such business units to enable other youth groups to engage in similar self-employment ventures.

To ensure effective networking of all these workers' collectively-owned ventures to enable fruitful exchange of experiences and ideas and their harmonization, all such units in each district shall constitute a District Assembly and, together with units in other districts, form a Regional Assembly. This shall be replicated at the National Assembly level with members of the Regional Assemblies.

A Committee of Co-ordinators of the units of these Assemblies in their respective areas of operation shall be elected by their own unit members and be responsible to their respective Executive Directorates.

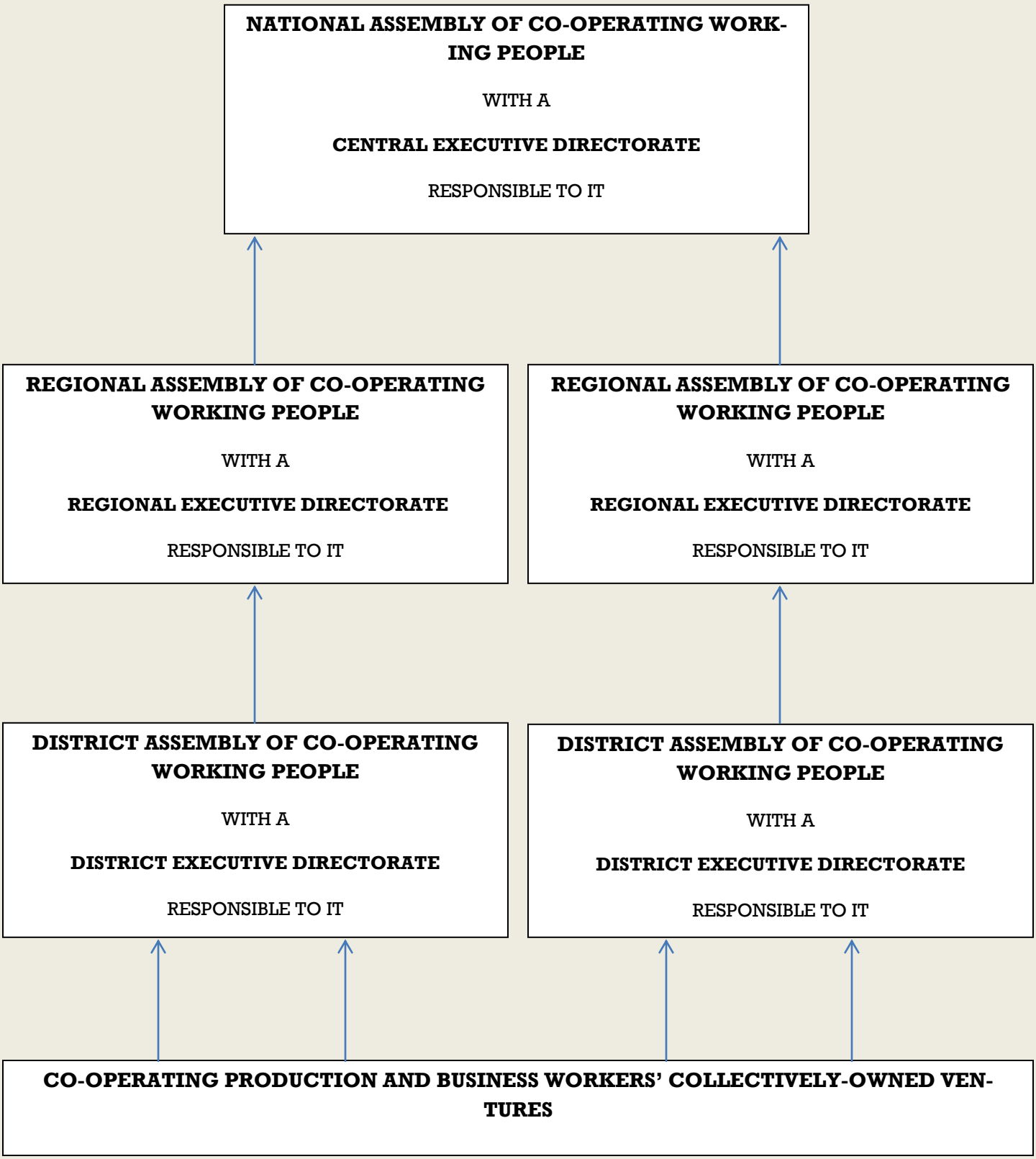
A Central Executive Directorate shall operate at the National Assembly to harmonize the activities of the entire system of the assemblies and be responsible to the National Assembly.

Operating on the principle of 'Service, Suffering, Sacrifice', officials of ASEN shall earn income *only* as members of an ASEN-created business unit in which they make their contribution to production and distribution for profit-generation. They shall have salaries and equal share in *those* profits (as stated above) just as other members of the unit but not as members of its administrative bodies.

By way of emphasis, it is stated that the position of an ASEN official, as such, is an honour confirmed on a member of an established production and business unit who has exhibited understanding and commitment to the principles and ideals of ASEN. Such an official is deemed to be capable of explaining and defending those principles and ideals. Being a sacrificial appointment an official is not paid for that engagement.

All internally and/or externally-generated donations made to the Social Solidarity Fund of ASEN shall be singularly directed at expanding the number of self-employed business units of ASEN and supporting them to stabilize during moments of internal difficulties.

THE ORGANOGRAM



2

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS (FAQ)

Question: In case some youth, trained in, say, accounting, pool their skills together to provide services to companies and out of their income they open an office. How could they fit into the ASEN system to be assisted?

Answer: What has emerged appears to be a partnership of sorts with each partner contributing their skills. A partnership is defined by *The Sage's English Dictionary* as 'A contract between two or more persons who agree to pool talent and money and share profits or losses.'

We view a partnership as bearing the potential, at the barest minimum, to employ workers who are paid wages but do not share in the profit of the business. This is contrary to ASEN's perspective of workers earning wages on the basis of the principle of equity *and* sharing of profits on the basis of the principle of equality.

ASEN frowns on partnerships within its set-up. In this case scenario, ASEN would offer to pay for all expenses made in acquiring the office and dissolve the partnership into a collective service unit open to others within the framework of ASEN.

This suggests that as a service unit within ASEN, this new unit would operate under ASEN's Certificate of Incorporation and Certificate to Commence Business and would benefit from assistance from ASEN's network when it runs into difficulties that include those of a financial and legal nature.

It ceases to be a partnership and becomes an irretrievable part of ASEN. Where a member quits they shall not have a claim to the office paid off by ASEN.

Question: From the look of things it appears that ASEN would need a huge amount of financial and other resources to make an impact with its idea of *collective enterprise* by way of popularizing it. Does ASEN really have such resources?

Answer: Not necessarily. ASEN has a bifurcated approach to the popularization of the concept of collective enterprises. The first is to depend on its own resources to guide and protect

production and business units within its network. It is the *internal dimension*.

The second is the *external dimension* which involves popularization of the concept through public discussion and debate to attract new NGOs and extended families with land and/or other properties to take the same path of engaging the youth in collective self-employment outside ASEN's framework.

This bifurcated approach is projected to encourage the other NGOs not only to also promote the proliferation of *collective enterprises* internal and external to their own outfits but to also network with ASEN, where possible, to harmonize and integrate their efforts.

Question: Is it not an idealistic task that ASEN has taken upon itself, given that human beings, by their nature, are rather acquisitively *individualistic* and not *collectivistic* in their propensities to live the good life?

Answer: Such questions presume 'human nature' to be a constant over the entire period of human existence. The truth, however, is that 'human nature' has never been a constant in the socio-economic history of humanity. It changes by processes of evolution but not instantly determined once and for all.

Human nature is always determined by the specific material and intellectual dynamics of each epoch in human existence or survival. Since those dynamics are not static but ever-evolving their influence on human nature is also not static.

This suggests that the question raised here is rather metaphysically idealistic in the sense that it holds a particular type of human nature as abiding throughout human history. For, that history indeed portrays individualism and collectivism or both in space and time.

It is certainly impossible to imagine a successful *individual enterprise* or *partnership* in our era that does not involve *collective* or *co-operative* efforts of several individuals controlled and directed at expanding production or service to ultimately enable the owner or owners to make profit.

Modern *individual enterprise* and *partnership* production or business is essentially *collectivist* in its *mobilization and organization of resources*. The individual owner of an enterprise or

owners of a partnership, unlike a collective enterprise, has/have the *sole* right of determining how the proceeds resulting from *collective* or *co-operative* efforts are appropriated or distributed.

That monopoly in *appropriation* is resolved in an ASEN-type *collective enterprise* where a consensus of *all* participants in production determines the pattern of appropriation and distribution.

The owner of an *individual enterprise* is a constantly agitated person within whom the *conflict* between the *socialization* of production and the *individualization* of the appropriation of the products finds expression.

They live in a permanent state of fear and surround themselves with increasingly sophisticated weapons of assault and defence even while enclosed in a protected housing space or environ.

An ASEN-type *collective enterprise* resolves that conflict to assure the individual's serenity of mind and body. Such is ASEN's concept of the good life.

Question: But the individual worker naturally aspires to climb into the position of owner of an individual enterprise. How does ASEN respond to that?

Answer: *Naturally*, again? Well, ASEN discourages that through ensuring that the worker, together with others of his kind, exercises the rights of *control* and *management* as well as *appropriation* (that is, the rights of ownership) of the proceeds of collective industry.

Of course, a worker, who has all along been involved in struggles for the survival of the *collective enterprise* that they belong to and sees several unviable *private enterprises crumbling* all around, as is the case in Africa today, is less likely to adopt the unsafe and less assuring option of an individual enterprise.

The material conditions might have changed then. It is all a process that materializes over a period of time. Nobody takes the path of losers.

Question: How is ASEN structured in such a way as to prevent the development of a *bureaucracy* that becomes a 'class' that becomes insensitive to the aspirations of the working people as

appears to have developed in the people's democracies of years past?

Answer: By a "bureaucracy" we mean a set of officials engaged in the administration of ASEN as an organization that co-ordinates the activities of its own created production and business units.

So as to prevent the bureaucracy from separating itself from the said units that it administers, two steps are taken. One, the officials operate on the principle of 'Service, Suffering, Sacrifice' and as such are not paid salaries *as* officials.

Two, those officials earn incomes *all the same* from their *participation* in the production and business units where, as workers, they contribute to the profits made and are paid their wages/salaries on the basis of the principle of equity as well as have *equal* share in those profits just like their colleague-workers.

Where a production or business unit grows to the level where it threatens to show or shows signs of an alienating bureaucracy it is *decentralized* through being broken into separate entities in the same or different locations.

Question: How does that measure up to the *principle of equity* whereby each person is rewarded according to the amount of effort put in the running of an organization? Certainly, the official who is engaged in *both* administration and production puts in more effort than the one who is engaged in *only* production or business and as such must earn more income.

Answer: To understand this, one must appreciate that ASEN is not a profit-making body. It operates on the principle of the voluntary which is also what we mean by the principle of 'Service, Suffering, Sacrifice'.

As a non-profit-making organization ASEN mobilizes resources from inside and outside of Africa to aid in the establishment of the production and business units that it regulates to ensure that the principles of collectivism are consistently upheld in those units.

This might be likened to implanting of a church by a missionary organization that relies on resources it did not create by itself. The difference here is that while the missionary is not engaged in production or business, although he/she might have encour-

aged it in various ways, the ASEN official is *directly involved* in production or business to earn an income. Elevation as an official is an *honour* conferred on a worker in recognition of his/her commitment and fidelity to ASEN's ideals/principles.

By way of illustrating this, the Ghanaian actor, John Dumelo, says that his appointment as Tourism Ambassador in Ghana goes without remuneration. According to him, 'My reward is serving my country and that is what I am doing.' The other Tourism Ambassadors appointed together with him for a renewable tenure of one year are Abraham Attah and Abeiku Santana. (Myjoyonline.com, GhanaWeb, May 30 2016)

Another difference is that while the collections contributed by members of the congregation of the church are used partly or wholly to sustain the missionary's welfare, social contributions made to the ASEN Social Solidarity Fund are used to provide separate facilities for other youth groups to run exclusively *new* production and business units but not for the sustenance and privileged consumption of ASEN officials.

While, during ASEN's transition, officials, who are already earning their living in some establishments, would not earn from its Social Solidarity Fund they are permitted to continue to earn income from work being done in those establishments *outside* the ASEN framework until they are aided to set up production or business units within that framework to earn an income from their participation in such collective enterprises.

Question: Equity also means that different skills have to be differently rewarded within the same production or business unit. How does ASEN address this if profits are to be shared *equally*?

Answer: Production and business units within ASEN's framework are projected as made up of members with *similar* skills sharing in the tasks of the unit. Incidental services, like electrical repairs, are considered as services by alternate business units preferably within the ASEN framework. They are paid for by the concerned unit. Hence, remunerations are equal for all.

Where objective difficulties arise out of the need to apply *different* skills within the same production or business unit the *principle of equity* is invoked *collectively* to determine levels of remuneration for different performances during the democratic

transition to an era when it is the needs of all that will determine the level of remuneration.

Within such projections, ASEN is guided by the egalitarian principle in ethics to ensure that the transitional different levels of remuneration do not reflect proportionally in the healthy development of all wards of members of a unit as part of the process of arresting and nullifying the future acceleration of class formation in African society.

To this end, an ASEN member who takes advantage of their higher remuneration to accumulate funds for the purpose of setting up an *individual enterprise* in competition with the collective enterprise shall be deemed to have committed a violation of the rule against this practice and be dismissed accordingly from the collective.

The collectivist principle, as ASEN conceives it, projects from the premise that individual skills are developed for *social good* out of which needs are met but not to gain advantage over others. The individual's skill is developed according to their talent and capability as well as continued interest in developing it to higher levels.

ASEN makes the collectivist principle and its end of realizing an egalitarian society as well as the acceptance of these by the members of a production or business unit *the basis* of that member's inclusion in the unit. A potential member is educated on these before inclusion. Their rejection or violation of them thereafter excludes them.

The placement of African patriotism high on the agenda of economic development of African society motivates ASEN to provide the infrastructural base for the free and collective development of the African youth. It is hoped that the said youth shall be equally motivated as African patriots to grow Africa into an independent economic giant.

Question: Has ASEN anticipated all practical difficulties that might arise in the process of running the production and business units?

Answer: Certainly, it is impossible to anticipate *all* future practical difficulties in any process of change. Some have been anticipated. For consistency in resolving all difficulties, whether

anticipated or spontaneous, ASEN is guided by *specific* principles based on the *general* principle of collectivism.

Question: What constituency of the working people does ASEN mobilize for assistance?

Answer: ASEN mobilizes and organizes all levels of working people, especially skilled unemployed youth, prepared to cooperate in a collective enterprise as ASEN defines it.

It must be stated specifically, however, that the mobilization of university graduates at these initial stages of development of ASEN presents it with some experienced practical difficulties.

Such graduates do not only generally expect certain facilities and salaries guaranteed for them before they commit to the ASEN Project. They additionally require to be placed in leadership positions but are not prepared to engage in efforts of a pioneering nature, given its initial inevitable privations.

Some of such graduates tend to gravitate towards Establishment political parties which offer them immediate uplifts in terms of jobs in the individual enterprises run by party leaders or simply assured stipends for undertaking political work. Relatively, their level of political consciousness is higher.

It must be appreciated, however, that graduates of this type are under pressure from families and relatives to begin to earn incomes to, at least, be on their feet as independent bread winners away from the normal family bread basket. Families tend to expect so much of them in the light of their new status.

In this respect, skilled non-university graduates are found to be more available in the task of pioneering the creation and establishment of the structures and institutions of ASEN through engagement in primary production and business units.

All the same, ASEN does not thereby automatically exclude the university graduates. Those of them who appreciate, accept and are prepared to place their shoulders under the task in spite of its enormousness are welcome. Privations are a pioneer's lot.

Question: With its reference to health and education facilities to workers and their wards, does ASEN's economic initiative suggest a corresponding social policy in general?

Answer: Yes. ASEN projects a social policy informed by the collectivist principle. In its promotion of collective production and business, ASEN, for instance, projects a housing policy that encourages people to live as communities with shared common facilities like library, school, health centre and sports arena as well as a social space for social observances.

Question: What of politics?

Answer: As an NGO, ASEN jealously guards itself not only in its *independence* from governments but also from all Establishment political parties. This does not mean that it does not co-operate with government or political parties where both develop converging interest in particular socio-economic initiatives to enhance *collective* youth self-employment.

It is, however, consistent in its drive to ensure that such co-operation does not deviate from the cause of *collective* youth enterprise in favour of *individual* enterprise. ASEN, based on the rapid rate of the collapse of newly-created individual enterprises set up by the youth with *loans*, views *such* individual enterprise as an exercise in mass futility both in terms of assurance to grow and enhancement of the prospects for an egalitarian society now and in the future.

Significantly, it should be noted that ASEN does not depend on expectations of co-operation with government or a political party to advance the cause of the youth in forging an egalitarian society through the development of collective enterprises owned and managed by them. It depends fundamentally on its own mobilized resources and intellect.

3

SPECIMEN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AFRICA SOCIAL ENTREPRENEUR NETWORK (ASEN) AND MEMBERS OF ITS CREATED BUSINESS UNITS

NAMED BUSINESS UNIT[ASEN]

We, the undersigned, understand that the **Named Business Unit** (hereinafter referred to as **'Named Business'**) is an establishment of the **Africa Social Entrepreneur Network** (hereinafter referred to as **ASEN**) and agree to this to be so.

We further understand that **ASEN** is a non-profit-making Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) registered as such at the Registrar General's Department in Ghana to mobilize and organize the unemployed African youth and others in co-operation for their self-employment.

We understand and agree that as an establishment of **ASEN**, **Named Business** shall operate under **ASEN's** *Certificate of Incorporation* and *Certificate to Commence Business* and be subject to **ASEN's** discipline and co-ordination with other ASEN establishments or set-ups.

We, therefore, clearly understand and agree that as a set-up of **ASEN**, **Named Business** is part of a network of similar establishments of **ASEN** in Ghana and other African countries and shall be entitled to support from that network in times of difficulties.

We understand that by 'co-operation' it is meant that all members of **Named Business** shall work as a *collective* in the management of the resources and activities of **Named Business**

and be entitled, *first*, to wages/salaries on the basis of the principle of equity and, *second*, to *equal* shares each in the *profits* that result from those activities.

We understand that by the principle of equity different skills shall be differently rewarded such that an apprentice, for instance, shall not be at the same level of remuneration as a skilled and experienced person.

We understand that by 'self-employment' it is meant that members of **Named Business** shall work for themselves as a *collective* which is different from a *partnership* whereby individual members pool their *different* amounts of capital and skills together as owners of an enterprise for *different* shares in *profits made* while restricting their workers' remuneration to wages/salaries without a share in *profits*.

We agree that **ASEN** shall provide the initial capital for the establishment of **Named Business** and that whatever financial or other contribution is made to the project by any member shall be paid back to him or her by **ASEN** so as to prevent different claims to shares on the basis of different levels of investment input contributed.

We agree that, with all the initial finances for equipment and installation paid for by ASEN, all members of **Named Business** (that is, the initial and additional members) shall be considered as *collective owners* of the indivisible property of **Named Business** while they remain with it.

We understand and agree that the aim of **ASEN** is to assist the African youth across the African continent in the main to grow as *collective entrepreneurs* but not as *individual entrepreneurs* who might later employ *others* in defeat of the principle of self-employment.

We agree that any new member shall be appointed only by the *entire* collective of existing members of **Named Business** but not imposed on it and that any member shall be free to leave the collective when it suits their convenience and therefore forfeit their right as a collective owner.

We agree that a member of a collective shall not have or participate in any individual enterprise after the transition of consolidation of the collective when all teething problems have been overcome and incomes are sufficient to sustain members –

meaning that any violation of this rule shall lead to the dismissal of the offender.

We understand and agree that all legal services needed by **Named Business** shall be provided by **ASEN** and, to this effect, **ASEN** shall undertake to ensure that all legal requirements for running **Named Business** as a business unit are complied with.

We understand and agree that all members of **Named Business** shall be members of the District Assembly of **ASEN** establishments within the district in which **Named Business** operates to take part in the decision-making of that Assembly concerning the solution of mutual problems.

We understand and agree that while members of **Named Business** shall be entitled, first, to wages/salaries on the basis of the principle of equity and, second, to equal shares in its profits after deduction of all expenses, an agreed percentage shall be donated from those profits into the **ASEN** Social Solidarity Fund to help set up similar formations in aid of other youth.

We understand and agree that **Named Business** shall pay taxes to the appropriate authorities and make Social Security and Insurance contributions from its profits before the remainder of such profits are equally shared among its members.

We understand and agree that **Named Business** shall be said to be a success and awarded a certificate only when it is able to finance its activities and pay members from its own activities as well as maintain and grow its capital assets after the initial capitalization from **ASEN** resources.

We understand and agree that any member of **Named Business** who shows leadership qualities, knowledge of the operations of **ASEN** and commitment to its principles and ideals shall be appointed to the position of a Co-ordinator of **ASEN** within the district and from the district to the regional as well as the national levels.

We understand and agree that a member of **Named Business** maintains his/her membership for life and that such a membership shall not and cannot be inherited by his/her sibling, child or friend until and unless the remaining members consider the latter qualified as a replacement.

We finally understand and agree that no member of the **Named Business** shall be dismissed from it unless a collective decision by *all* other members is taken upon the proof of theft or other disruptive act or violation of principle intended to sabotage it by that member.

Signed this Sixteenth Day of March in the year of our Lord Two Thousand and Sixteen by the following on behalf of the **Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN)** and the Members of the **Named Business Unit (Named Business):**

Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN)

……
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
(Director)

……..
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
(Director)

……
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
(Secretary)

Named Business Unit

……

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
(Member)

.....

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
(Member)

.....

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
(Member)

.....

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
(Member)

4

AFRICA SOCIAL ENTREPRENEUR NETWORK (ASEN)

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION FORM

1. Declaration Of Understanding

I, ……., understand that the Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN) is a registered secular non-governmental organization of the African youth dedicated to promoting common ownership of production and distribution systems as well as their defence mechanisms for the prosperity of all working youth of the African continent and the Diaspora.

I understand that upon the acceptance of my application to be a member of ASEN I commit myself to its principles of organization and discipline; for which reason, and for as long as I continue to be so committed, I am considered a part-owner of the production or distribution unit that I have applied to join and have a wage/salary on the basis of the principle of equity *and* equal share in its profits.

I understand that I am to *co-operate* but not in any way *compete* with any other member of the unit or the whole unit to which I belong and that any act of theft on my part or any undisclosed knowledge of theft by any member on my part or violation of this rule against competition shall be deemed sufficient reason for my dismissal and loss of *all* benefits to which I shall have rights within ASEN.

I understand that to avoid religious conflict in ASEN I have the right to practise any religion of my choice or not to practise any such religion and to respect any other member's choice to that effect; for which reason, I undertake not to propagate any particular religion within the entire organizational framework of ASEN in respect of the principle that belief or non-belief in religion is a member's private concern.

I understand, therefore, that ASEN is a secular organization opened to all African working people, be they Black Africans, Arab Africans, Afrikaners, Indian Africans or African Americans

without reference to their religious faith or absence of any such faith.

I accept that the principles of ASEN take precedence over those of any particular religion within its organizational framework.

May goodness always guide and be my guide while I co-operate to safeguard the collective interests of ASEN members.

2. Personal Particulars

First Name:
Middle Name:
Surname:
Date of Birth:
Father's Full Name:
Mother's Full Name:
Last School Attended:
Highest Certificate Acquired:
Country and Area of Residence:
Residential Address:
Mobile Phone No.:
Production Unit Applied to:
Agree to make Declaration of Understanding? i. Yes ii. No *
Applicant's Signature:
Date:

*Tick as appropriate.

3. Office Use

(a) Verification of personal particulars i. Yes ii. No *
(b) Application Acceptance i. Yes ii. No *
(c) Identification Number Assigned:
(d) Name of Verification Official:
(e) Officer's Signature:
(f) Date:

*Tick as appropriate.

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2. WORKERS-CO-OPERATIVES AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN CUBA

This Cuban story below is interesting for two or more reasons.

In the first place, it is describing a situation that is similar, but only similar, to the situation in Ghana and Africa where co-operatives are in competition with individual small businesses or enterprises.

The contrast consists in the fact that while in the African case the co-operatives operate on the same principles of private accumulation as do the small businesses and enterprises, in the Cuban case the co-operatives operate on the collectivist principle as against the individualist principle of the private sector.

By an important extension, whereas the African co-operatives are groups of OWNERS who use the labour of others to make progressively bigger profits the Cuban co-operatives are groups of WORKERS who use their own labour to produce for themselves and society but not essentially for profit.

That's why the Cubans make efforts to make prices cheaper than they are now while the African owners-co-operatives seek higher prices for higher profits. Interestingly, the restaurant projects a future link with direct supply of materials – a network.

In the second place, it is interesting to observe that progressive forces in Ghana and Africa neglect the similarity of the two situations in the light of existing opportunities in Africa to pursue the evolution of a system of workers-co-operatives. Their excuse is that they need to 'seize' or 'capture' the existing capitalist neo-colonial state power BEFORE they can do so.

This explains their concern with intra-capitalist neo-colonial political power issues like state elections to replace a faction of the capitalist neo-colonial ruling class with another such faction. And given their inability to mobilize the huge financial resources required for those elections they opportunistically align themselves to either of the factions.

The Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA) has undertaken experiments in agro-industrial endeavours on the basis of the collectivist principle in production and management. It has found the workers-co-operative not only attractive to the working people in terms of benefit and control but also feasible

even under the present conditions of capitalist neo-colonial state power dominance.

Both at the Liberty Ayivi Memorial Mango Plantation (LAMMP) and the Victory Catering Services (VCS) the collectivist principle has been embraced by workers who produce in and manage these co-operating systems. Whereas the LAMMP is a plantation at its initial phase of an agro-industrial build-up, the VCS is being constructed to evolve into a restaurant.

These experimental endeavours have issued in the incorporation of the Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN), an NGO, to guide and co-ordinate those co-operating systems and others of their type in an integrated network wherein they supply each other and strengthen their mutual operations as an organic whole.

In the process, self-employed youth develop an independent alternative to the existing production system that parasites on and vampirically sucks the blood out of workers. The positive future implications of this on the entire social system must be obvious to the discerning African with progressive orientation.

No progressive in Ghana and Africa must delude themselves into thinking that their neglect of the production base of the future socio-economico-political system that replaces the existing rotten capitalist neo-colonial system amuses anybody. Their intra-systemic activities in support of factions of the capitalist neo-colonial ruling class are being observed keenly.

Please, carefully study the Cuban report below and observe the dynamic principles at play. That should teach us lessons on how to study our own African situation and move forward.

A SUCCESSFUL HAVANA COOPERATIVE

Image: The 90-seat restaurant welcomes both Cuban and foreign customers daily. Photo: Alberto Borrego

On the corner of Infanta and San Lázaro streets, Havana, in a building which was in a state of disrepair for nearly two decades, there now stands a small business. Divided into a bar, a bakery/patisserie and a restaurant, the former pizzeria of the eighties has grown over the past seven months to include a staff of 120 workers. It could be said that it serves as an example of Cuban cooperativism gaining ground.

Within the experiment underway on the island with Non-Agricultural Cooperatives (CNA), El Biky was the first proposal submitted by individuals to be authorized. As president Pavel Ortega explains, previously cooperatives were only created through a change in management structure of an existing state-run organization, or when an already existing work collective opted to form one.

Initially, Ortega recalls, just four members applied for the authorization from the Havana Provincial Administration Council to form the cooperative. "We managed to repair the space through a bank loan and incurred a debt of one million CUC," he notes.

"When I say that, people almost have a heart attack. It is a large sum, but you can pay it off, if everything is done right. After having imported the equipment through the CIMEX corporation, ranging from a sink to a cup or glass, we began to pay off

the debt. To remain profitable, El Biky must make sales of at least three thousand CUC a day and we are already making some four thousand on average,'' the president explains.

According to Ortega, another loan has already been granted to complete the top level of the 90-seat restaurant. Self-employed workers and cooperatives have been contracted to carry out the construction work.

A CHANGE OF MENTALITY

In an analysis of the functioning of CNAs, the president of El Biky notes that the whole world operates on the basis of loans, and the best way to gain space as a small business is not by simply changing from one management structure to another, but rather transforming mentalities while learning to take financial risks.

''This is what continues to hold back the emergence of cooperatives. It's not enough to change the physical appearance of a workplace, if it continues to operate in the same way. You have to adapt in order to compete with the private market. We launched an experiment without being fully trained, but the country has confidence in many projects and provides support,'' he states.

According to Ortega, whether at the micro or the macro level, to manage any business requires knowledge. He argues that one can't move from being the administrator of a state-run enterprise to a private one, and expect that this will work out as if by magic, as knowledge, experience and different systems are required.

AN IMMEDIATE SUCCESS

From the social point of view, Ortega emphasizes, one of the most famous corners in Havana has been renovated, while jobs were created which benefit more than one hundred families.

He adds that the cooperative successfully competes with private businesses on two levels: the aesthetic and gastronomic. ''There are very well thought out breakfast, lunch and dinner menus and we have many regular customers. Sometimes the morning is as busy as dinner time. One of our appeals is that we make natural juices to order and have fully personalized tableware,'' Ortega explains.

Both Cubans and tourists enjoy the food here, although the cooperative does not focus on the latter clientele base. ''The business from daily customers is more important than larger one-time visits,'' Ortega stresses.

As for the service, he adds that El Biky is one of the best restaurants in Havana in terms of value and quality. ''Although we hope to lower prices, we have to wait for a wholesale market to be established, as we purchase everything from the retail sec-

tor. Having no wholesale market to meet our needs increases costs, and forces us to have prices that, although not high, are not what we would like," he explains.

The cooperative wished to provide top quality products within an atmosphere of good taste, and sought the advice of young people in this effort. In the words of Ortega, "It took almost a year and a half to achieve this. It was difficult, but worth it. Some say it happened quickly, yet for me it appeared a lifetime, as we exhausted ourselves with the task of securing not only food supplies, but the materials required for the refurbishment."

AWAITING A WHOLESALE MARKET

Although the Ministry of Economy and Planning offers beverages such as water, soda and beer through contracts, these are the only supplies that are stable. "The meat, rice, eggs, beans, etc. are purchased in the retail network, although we are able to import equipment and utensils," Ortega explains.

Cooperative members currently take home on average 500 CUP for each day they work, in the form of advances, to provide regular remuneration. In Ortega's view, a time will come when the cooperative will be able to budget basic salaries, in addition to using this or other forms of distributing earnings after expenses to members.

At El Biky, currently one of the most successful non-agricultural cooperatives in Havana, you can find someone with a degree in accounting washing dishes, or a dentist waiting on tables, as anyone with a desire to work is accepted as a member and trained accordingly.

INSIDE THE COOPERATIVE

Calixto Casanova, with experience in both the private and the state sector, believes that the cooperative provides a different work environment, with improved service, quality of produce and dishes.

As head chef, he is responsible for ensuring the quality of all menu items, which he tries and approves.

Likewise, he must ensure that all food served has the required combination of taste, texture, and aroma, as it is not enough for a dish to simply look good.

He says he is pleased to be earning enough to support his family. In addition, customers are happy and make this known in the restaurant's complaints and suggestions book. Casanova argues that maintaining good service is much more difficult than first achieving it, and that consistency is what leads to real success.

A recent Dentistry graduate, Jessica Riera, began working in the non-state sector with no previous experience in gastrono-

my. She began working on a trial basis, trained up and now has a permanent position in the cooperative.

"I'm here because you receive better wages than as a dentist and I need to meet expenses at home. Most customers make you feel good for the service you provide, while there are others who sometimes mistreat you, but you just have to smile at them," she says.

From another perspective, the young Mario Enrique Domínguez notes that the key is to continue to build on one's skills, in order to provide better customer service, so that those who visit leave satisfied and come back. "Soon I will begin to study English, because we receive many foreign customers."

Meibel Cuello, who previously worked at the Karl Marx Theater, arrived at El Biky with knowledge of traditional cocktails and had to learn how to make many others. "Here we receive 10% of sales daily plus tips, and people leave very happy, because they enjoy a variety of very well prepared drinks and meals," she states.

In the case of Reinier Cuello, who is also working in the non-state sector for the first time, he explains that it is very important to have good working conditions and that cooperative members enjoy a comfortable work schedule.

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THE MIND OF KWAME NKRUMAH
Manual for the Study of Consciencism

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

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3. RESEARCH CAMPAIGNER AT WORK

A Research Campaigner is an official of the Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN). They engage a potential member of a collective enterprise either through WhatsApp or the general social media or personally. They do not initially introduce themselves as an ASEN official. Their questionnaire is consciously hypothetical. That brings out the respondent's true perspective to bear on the research. While they seek to learn from the respondent, the Research Campaigner also tries to get the respondent to see ASEN's point of view and direction of work. Hence, the ASEN research official is at one and the same time a researcher and a campaigner. The following is an example of an ASEN Research Campaigner at work between July 2 and 3 2016.

Research Campaigner: Kindly tell me if you, as a teacher, would find the following proposal attractive. That is, so attractive that you might prefer it to the conditions of your present teaching engagement.

This is a fieldwork research.

Here it goes. Assume that you and four other teachers are provided with an infrastructure to run a school by an NGO.

The NGO allows all the five of you to run the school as your own collective enterprise. Each of you remains an owner until death.

After death your child or family cannot automatically inherit your place as an owner unless your colleagues find him/her as professionally qualified to take your place.

Furthermore, the school remains within a network of various collective enterprises.

The network operates within the NGO which co-ordinates the activities of all the collective enterprises to ensure that

> one, each operates according to the collectivist principle and,
>
> two, each makes a monthly contribution of, say, 10% of its income to a Social Solidarity Fund of the NGO.

That Fund shall be used to set up new collective enterprises. Where a collective enterprise runs into difficulties of a financial

and legal nature it shall be assisted by the NGO through its Social Solidarity Fund and Legal Department.

The collective enterprise shall determine members' wages or salaries on the basis of the principle of equity. Profits shall, however, be shared on the basis of the principle of equality.

Now, would you prefer such a collective enterprise to an individual enterprise where the owner alone takes the profit after paying the wages and salaries of employees?

Please, you may ask questions for clarification either here or by calls.

Respondent: In the first place, NGOs, as the name implies, don't have any financial support of a government and when they collapse or go bankrupt that can derail the future plans of workers within. For this reason, it won't be my choice to accept this offer.

However, in the unlikely event that I should find myself in such a situation there are a few feasibility studies that I will do before I commit myself.

1. The origin of the NGO, either foreign or local, taking into consideration the con-nature of some people.
2. Sources of funding.
3. Location of the school (environment) since most NGO schools are non-fee paying and others subsidise the fees, etc.
4. If it's a full-fee paying school, ability of parents/guardians to pay because of the mind-set of 'some' that NGO schools get funding from elsewhere.

I am struggling at the moment to understand how an NGO school can make a profit to the extent that 10% of it will be contributed to an SSF for unforeseen contingencies.

NGO work is a purely sacrificial work that personally I believe should be a volunteering one or on part time basis. But in the field of education where FCUBE has been trumpeted by various governments it can't be profit-making.

However, be that as it may, I will prefer the collective enterprise to an individual enterprise.

It's better to bear collective debts if the NGO incurs one or doesn't make profit than when it's an individual.

Research Campaigner: For purposes of illustration, the model of an NGO projected here, in its simplicity, is like the Government of Ghana which is urged not to be involved in the economy by way of creating production and business enterprises but to help promote independent private enterprises for those purposes.

Here, the NGO similarly facilitates the creation, establishment and growth of collective enterprises rather than individual enterprises.

The NGO, on the other hand, is more deeply active as it coordinates and regulates collective enterprises to ensure that the principle of collectivism is upheld within each and among those collective enterprises that operate under its umbrella.

Unlike the government which does not fund the enterprises but only creates a general atmosphere for their success, the NGO actively ensures that each funded collective enterprise succeeds on the basis of initial funds and facilities that it provides it.

In this light, the NGO cannot go bankrupt though a collective enterprise can theoretically go bankrupt. But it is against this possibility of bankruptcy that the NGO networks all the collective enterprises to ensure mutual support through the SSF to avert it.

Since the NGO has limited funds, it concentrates on the creation and establishment of collective enterprises one at a time. It does not undertake the creation of an enterprise until it gets the minimum of funds that can have it started.

The provision that each established collective enterprise shall be required to make some contribution to the Social Solidarity Fund for the creation of new collective enterprises does not make the NGO a profit-making outfit. It remains voluntary.

It is the collective enterprise that makes profits after paying taxes to the State and wages or salaries to its members who are the collective managers of the enterprise. Profits are shared equally after the agreed SSF contribution is deducted.

The Social Solidarity Fund (SSF) is the essential local vehicle for the mobilization of funds to assure the independence of the network of collective enterprises from foreign and political party or government influence at all times.

The NGO's officials are also expected to earn their income not from the NGO or its SSF but from their own participation in a collective enterprise. An official's work remains sacrificial unlike that of a government official, by contrast.

Importantly, an official emerges from a collective enterprise and through the ranks but not imposed from outside on the NGO. The position of an official is a reward to serve in recognition of performance, upholding of the NGO's principles.

Please, does this clarification help? Any further critical observation?

Respondent: (Not yet responded at the time of going to press)

July 2-3 2016

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Matters Arising

1. THE MECHANICS OF PETITE-BOURGEOIS OPPORTUNISM

(A Slightly Updated Version of Answers Given on Facebook with a New Title)

By
Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

> The most dangerous of all … are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.
>
> V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism – The Highest Stage of Capitalism,* Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1975, p. 153

Thanks, Sir, for your probing questions.

It is presumed that this is your second time of posing appropriate questions to us. You can be assured that we think highly of those questions. The current set is worth a detailed response.

The Author

We observe that central to your set of questions is this: 'Are political activists with Marxist knowledge of history necessarily opportunistic if they decide to partake in politics?' By 'politics' you clearly imply 'neo-colonial bourgeois politics'. Let's begin with that.

And to begin with, it seems to us useful to remind ourselves that Marxism is a *science*. As a *science* – just like the sciences of Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Mathematics – Marxism, by its principles of dialectical and historical materialism, is a *universal* analytical tool for *all* ideologically-oriented political activists.

This suggests that, like the physical sciences, Marxism is a set of theoretical principles (or laws) for the analysis of nature and society. In this regard, it is accessible to political activists with

varied and even fundamentally opposing ideological orientations.

Restriction of Marxism to only *socialist* political activists takes away from it its universality as a science. A science stands majestically above all ideologico-political persuasions. This is why a physicist or a medical practitioner can afford to be ideologico-politically neutral in treating their object of concern.

When a *capitalist* or *bourgeois* political activist applies Marxist principles to analyse and understand the balance of forces in a given society in order to formulate strategies and tactics to pursue *capitalist* or *neo-colonial capitalist* ends he/she is in application of a science.

So also it is with the *socialist* activist.

Hence, it is important that when we see the principles of Marxism at play in any analysis we should not *automatically* conclude that that analysis is a 'socialist analysis'. It is the kind of strategies and tactics formulated which determines the ideologico-political ends aimed at – socialist or capitalist.

As an instance, Prof. Kwesi Botchway and Prof. Yanis Varoufakis, who are respectively Ghana and Greece former Ministers of Finance, are Marxist analysts who employ Marxist concepts and principles in their socio-economico-political analyses in the service of *capitalism and imperialism*.

Dr. Emmanuel Hansen of blessed memory employs Marxist concepts and principles in his socio-economico-political analyses in the service of *socialism*. So also does Dr. Yao Enya Graham of the Third World Network. These are considered in Ghana and Africa as profound Marxist socialists.

This is a point not well appreciated by even some Marxist socialists who think that Marxist science is a socialist monopoly. It is such an error that makes those socialists mass themselves up behind *anybody* who uses Marxist concepts and principles. Even behind Prof. Kwesi Botchway and Mr. Tsatsu Tsikata.

Hence, scientifically speaking, bearing a 'Marxist knowledge of history' necessarily does *not* render one 'opportunistic if they decide to partake in politics'. And here we understand, as observed above, that you are in reference to *neo-colonial bourgeois politics* in Africa.

In our comment we refer to 'Marxist *socialist* intellectuality' to differentiate it from the 'Marxist *bourgeois* intellectuality' of Prof. Kwesi Botchway and Prof. Yanis Varoufakis. The distinction is imperative if we should properly appreciate the true colours of petite-bourgeois opportunism.

The issue of opportunism sets in when one partakes in bourgeois politics in the service of the capitalist neo-colonial system and imperialism *but* proclaims on rooftops or creates the impression to be on the side of socialist forces and socialism. Again, Prof. Kwesi Botchway is a typical example.

The point about the Left's engagement in bourgeois neo-colonial politics is that such an engagement must be based on a concrete programme of building from the grassroots a *socialist* alternative to this neo-colonial capitalist system by way of utilizing existing opportunities for that purpose.

It is definitely opportunistic to discard that focus on building the alternative and be rather focused on *nokofio* ('material gains') which include not just acquiring a chain of cars, building houses for family use only and placing own children in comfortable positions either in the bureaucracy or contract business.

The even more despicable aspect of this opportunism is when one's own involvement in bourgeois neo-colonial politics consciously frustrates any attempt at building the proclaimed socialist alternative!

In the light of the above-stated position on the *scientificity* of Marxism we cannot say that one is being opportunistic when one *openly* declares a capitalist neo-colonial stance and posture and uses Marxist analytical concepts and principles to serve capitalist neo-colonialism. The *ideological* orientation is clear.

The opportunism sets in when one *pretends* to be a socialist and plants oneself among socialist forces as an organic fifth columnist of the most shameful species of activists in society and rather frustrates the pursuit of the socialist alternative. Such species of activists rather live under their own self-inflicted psychological pressure.

Nobody is 'exerting psychological pressure on citizens who want to be active in their lifetime not only in theory but in practice'. It is the *nokofio syndrome* of the opportunists that self-

inflicts the psychological pressure. Such persons are spiritually dead, never happy in life! Their faces always exhibit gloom.

Your other question of importance asks: 'Didn't Marx himself expect capitalism to grow to maturity before any major transformation to a new, fairer stage occurs?' That Marx considers capitalism *mature for replacement* is observed in his celebration of the Paris Commune in 1871. This could be a simple response to that question.

What is to be noted here is that since Marx's celebration and the defeat of the Commune capitalism has undertaken a project of *social engineering*. In fact, recently the Marxist bourgeois economist, Prof. Yanis Varoufakis, called on *communists* to intellectually help to resolve the on-going crises in *capitalism*. That explains the exhaustion of the bourgeoisie in general.

The latter question herein can be linked to your statement in reference to an 'unrealistic possibility of waging a classic revolution these days'. The reference to 'a classic revolution' might suggest a *standard* for transformation. In history, there is nothing like a 'classic revolution'. Every revolution, Marx and Lenin say, depends on *specific* societal dynamics. *It is different*.

Ours is not to look beyond Africa to track down the current dynamics of *African* society. We must look here and now! The issue has nothing to do with the 'possibility of waging a classic revolution' or not; such that having discovered an 'unrealistic possibility' we fold our hands and partake of the neo-colonial system with gratitude to it because 'life meanwhile must go on'.

Linked to this latter issue, you, while supposedly awaiting the maturity of capitalism, thus ask: 'What should citizens be doing practically?' The answer must be simply put. They should concretely analyse their own *African* situation and do *everything* socialistically-oriented rather than *sustaining* the neo-colonial capitalist system *just because a relative is given a job in it*.

In a forthcoming pamphlet[47], the Africa Social Entrepreneur Network (ASEN) introduces a concept of *collective enterprise* owned and managed by all who work in it and share in the ''profits'' of the enterprise. It is an alternative to *individual en-*

[47] **Editor's comment**: The pamphlet is published in full in the *Research and Experiment* section of this current issue of the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism*.

terprise and *partnership* that take advantage of the *socialization* of production but *privately* appropriate the profits.

The pamphlet implies that the current state of African society, through the struggles of class forces, opens up opportunities for a democratic pursuit of the working people's set interests in collectivist structures of production and management. In that pursuit, there is no need for a 'classic revolution' which only sheepishly manifests in copying from other realms and climes.

In fact, as we write here, two experimentations in production and service provision based on the collectivist principle have proved the viability of the Project of creating and building collectivist structures and management *now*; even *without* state power. Teething problems, however, exist; but they emerge in order to be solved. Nobody says that the change will be easy.

So that we would observe that while 'life meanwhile must go on' it would go on in such a way that an alternative to this rotten neo-colonial capitalist system ultimately, through a process of change involving those who sweat, emerges in amplification and justification of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's projection of the African Genius in forging the African Personality.

Let's be Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

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2. GANDHI MUST STAND!

(A Facebook Discourse on September 17-18 2016)

Lang Nubuor with Lawrence Lamptey and 88 others.

22 hrs ·

GANDHI MUST STAND!

A Critique of the GandhiMustComeDown Movement's Petition

(With the full Petition as an Appendix)

In the face of the continual tightening of the stranglehold of Western-controlled international finance institutions, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), over the African economy it stands to reason that academicians of African universities, such as the University of Ghana, would focus on building strategies for African freedom from such strangulation and not divert attention from this one most important brake on Africa's development. An ideological mix of some academicians sees otherwise.

At the University of Ghana, currently, a five-member GandhiMustComeDown Movement, made up of Prof. Akosua Adomako Ampofo and Prof. Akosua Adoma Perbi as leading lights and other lower academic spirits like Dr. Kwadwo Appiagyei-Atua, Dr. Obádélé Kambon and Mr. Mantse Aryeequaye, has presented a Petition to the Council of that University to occasion the demolition of a newly erected statue of Mahatma Gandhi of India on the Legon campus of the University. Dated September 12 2016, the Petition was addressed to the Chairman of Council, Prof. Kwamena Ahwoi for his attention.

In this brief write-up, we take a critical look at the Petition from a perspective of its structure, content, developmental and ideological direction. In so doing, we observe that the Petition is not inspired by any African-initiated process on the continent of Africa towards the liberation of the African economy and political management from the aforementioned stranglehold of Western-led international finance institutions. We observe further that the Petition originates from Western processes of removing the constant reminders of the shame of the West's enslavement of Black Africans from their public institutions.

We hold here that these Western processes are the result of African pressures mounted by the Black African Reparation Movement across the world for reparation in atonement of the pain inflicted on Black Africans for more than five hundred years. We view this guilt in the Western conscience as an occasion to escalate such pressures to the level of putting the mentioned stranglehold on African existence in greater stress for its ultimate disentanglement for the total freedom of Africans all over the world. To this end, there is the need to cultivate the Spirit of Resistance such as Dr.

Kwame Nkrumah acquired from the Gandhian practice in recent memory for the successful construct of Positive Action in Africa.

It is from this perspective that we hold that a counter-movement of Gandhi Must Stand to the ill-informed, ill-motivated and myopic reactionary GandhiMustComeDown Movement should be put in place to better project the African Personality through actions directed at fundamental African liberation and Freedom.

The Council of the University of Ghana must stand firm by its decision! Gandhi Must Stand!

***

In its structure, the Petition is preceded by an introduction and followed by five sections. The sections are: (1) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's racist identity (2) There are currently no statues of our own heroes and heroines on our campus (3) Removal of racist symbols from "world-class" universities (4) Protests against statues of Gandhi throughout the world (5) There was no consultation about the placing of the statue. Let's patiently pick each of them one after the other for critical examination and comprehension of the neo-colonial nature of the Petition.

Beginning with the Introduction, the Petition states June 14 2016 as the date on which the Gandhi statue was erected at the Recreational Quadrangle which is between the Balm Library and the N2 lecture hall. It informs us further that it is the only statue of a historical personality on Legon campus. It goes on to claim that shortly after the erection members of the University community and the general public made calls for its removal. Thus, the GandhiMustFall Movement of five associates with the calls for some five specific reasons.

It goes on, therefore, to state its first reason as Gandhi's racist identity. To establish this, the scholarly Petition quotes isolated statements from Vol. I, Vol. II and Vol.V of Gandhi's works in 1895 and 1896. In general, the quoted statements are an objection to the European authorities' policy of locating Indians close to Black Africans and subjecting them to the harsher laws exacted on the Blacks. It is clear that the statements portray Indians as being of a superior type over Blacks whom they refer to by the derogatory name of 'Kaffir'. The American version is 'Nigger'.

Contrary to the American practice and experience, the statements do not point at Gandhi's or Indians' suggestions of physical maltreatment of Blacks. To strike a semblance of that attitude for purposes of illustration, we are aware of the reference of other Ga-Dangbe groups to the people of Prampram as 'Gbugblah' in derogatory terms to refer to the chains that still hanged to the body of the freed slaves returned to present day Prampram by the Europeans. Today, 'Gbugblah' has lost that derogation just as Ashanti's 'Pepeni' has lost its own among northerners.

The significance of the Kaffir-Nigger usages in respect of the importance that the Petition attaches to the former in Gandhi's remarks is that our attention is drawn to the practice among human-

kind whereby particular people vaingloriously and erroneously refer to themselves as being superior to others even within the same ethnic group or 'race'. Everywhere, such usages give grounds for denigrating other people and create grounds for their brutal exploitation. By Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's varied policies in Ghana the panacea is the integration of peoples.

Hence, in our consideration such common failing among peoples must not be made absolute in a person unless it feeds into a conscious policy formulation to enslave a people so derogatorily regarded. Claims that Indians, perhaps on the prodding of Gandhi, do not want Blacks beside them are certainly false. At the Accra High School, in the 1970s, we sat in the same class and shared books with Indians, pulled each other's legs in jokes and taught each other. We here remember our Indian mistress, Mrs. Khan, who was so motherly to this writer.

While at this piece we received a Facebook comment about Gandhi writing a self-criticism in his autobiography. According to the FB entry, 'One Gussae Hamror writes in connection with Gandhi: "he himself wrote about his many flaws in South Africa in his autobiography What you will find in Gandhi's legacy is not righteousness, but honesty, self-critique and growth, combined with a rare dismissal of personal material comfort and ambitions. It will be a big mistake for humanists to vilify him. We actually need more folks today like Ghandhi who are brave enough to criticize themselves as openly and repent as he did."'

In its second reason, the Petition states a view that should there be a need to build statues they must be of African heroes so that such statutes could serve as an opportunity to our youth to learn our history. The Petitioners, one of whom is a history lecturer (Prof. Akosua Adoma Perbi of the History Department), lament that 'our youth know so little about our own history'. They question the rationality in uplifting other people's heroes at our University 'when we haven't lifted our own'. In reaction, they find it fitting to make a statue of a former member of the Council.

All that the said member, a certain Mr. Sam Aboah, ever did was to finance the quadrangle and planting of teak trees at Legon, according to the Petition.

This palpable insult to the memory of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the independence struggle against the British and founder of Ghana as now constituted, is beyond reproach. Somebody, who just sat somewhere air-conditioned drinking tea and talking in expectation of sitting allowance, gave money out for those things mentioned and we are expected to mount a STATUE of HIM so that our youth learns our history! Jesus Christ of Liberia! This explains why this University of Ghana burned Dr. Nkrumah's books in 1966. Such a reproduction of ingratitude!

And listen to who are talking about the African youth knowing so little about our history. Lecturers of History whose duty it is to teach it! Without the learning of history from the books how could we understand what a statue stands for? The self-serving instincts

of the dominant reactionary academicians at Legon are a great lag on the liberation of the African Mind in service of imperialist neo-colonialism in Africa. Need we listen to these title-sharing drags on Africa's march forward?

The Petition's third reason is a record of attempts in various institutions in the United States, Europe and, by extension, South Africa to clean up the shame of Black slavery in terms of persons and institutions that defended and promoted it. The Petition's long catalogue of such institutions, mainly in states and cities in the U.S., shows the various attempts. The South African attempts and acts are the logical extension of dealing with the memory of slave advocates and beneficiaries. By this reason the Petitioners merely seek to be part of the Western concern.

What one finds curious about this Petition on this issue of racism is that this reason for asking for the demolition of Gandhi's statue is not based on any Ghanaian or African urgency. It is loudly predicated on the Petition's concern with Western nation's concern with redressing THEIR shame over the over five hundred years of brutal acts of annihilation and exploitation of the Black person. The rhyming theme of this section is Western institutions seeking to obliterate the shame of their origins from the blood and toils of Black slaves. Cecil Rhodes is part of that standing shame. How do our academicians find space in that shame to address it?

They are only trying to force their way into their masters' efforts to clean up through finding a false accomplice in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. They neglect Africa's internal problems for which they have no solutions and rather seek comfort in distractions born of Western concerns to hide their intellectual deficit on their own continent. This is the shame they must address. Not the West's.

In their fourth reason, they try to rally support for the clean-up of racist shibboleths with this pointer that the Western concern is a world concern. They add to the American states and cities others in the United Kingdom as well as South Africa. That's all. The rest of the world in Asia, Australia and South America are quietly glossed over without mention as part of the world dusting off the tag of Black slave dealers, exploiters and killers.

Finally, the Petition raises issue with administrative procedures that were claimed to have been flouted with only the former Vice-Chancellor as the main and only culprit for taking the sole decision of allowing the erection of the statue. In this particular respect, the Petitioners are particularly and gbeyeciously interested in finding out how much money was harvested from the deal. Probably if they had been told that something flowed from it and they have nokofio extended to them from it they would shut their cultivated mouths for mischief.

And you see, like the Parliamentarians, where nokofio-for-all is available, issues of ideology don't play a role ooo! That is why after he had signed this horrible and reactionary and irrelevant Petition, we find the normally fine Nkrumaist in the person of Gamel Nasser Adam saying incomprehensively that 'I am signing this petition

because the University of Ghana has an obligation to set the highest ex-ample of Africa's consciousness of its history and our collective struggle over the centuries against racial prejudice and discrimination.' Nasser!

Gandhi oppressed and exploited no Black African. The unfortunate remarks cited against him are a general failure of peoples with a false sense of their superiority. He is said to have criticized himself for his inadequacies. But he has never regret-ted for his policy of non-violence or the Spirit of Resistance! That is what his statue must inspire in us to seek the fall of imperialist neo-colonialist capitalism but not the fall of his inspiring statue. GANDHI MUST STAND!

APPENDIX

THE PETITION OF THE GANDHIMUSTCOMEDOWN MOVEMENT

The Members of the University of Ghana Council

Attn: Chairman of Council Prof. Kwamena Ahwoi
12 September 2016
Dear Honourable members of the University of Ghana Council:
Re.: Petition for the removal of the Statue of Gandhi
We the undersigned bring this petition for the removal of the statue of Gandhi to the esteemed Council of the University of Ghana Council for your consideration.
Background:
On 14 June 2016 a statue of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi[1] was erected at the Recreational Quadrangle. This is the only statue of an historical personality on the University of Ghana's Legon campus. Soon after it came to the notice of members of the University community and the general public, calls for its removal began within the University community and beyond.[2] We, the undersigned associate ourselves with that call for the reasons outlined below.
Rationale for Removal:
1. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's racist identity:
Below we provide just a few citations from his own writings to illustrate this.
Before Dec. 19, 1894
"A general belief seems to prevail in the Colony that the Indians are little better, if at all, than savages or the Natives of Africa. Even the children are taught to believe in that manner, with the result that the Indian is being dragged down to the position of a raw Kaffir." ~ Vol. I, p. 193
Before May 5, 1895
"In the face, too, of financial operations, the success of which many of their detractors would envy, one fails to understand the agitation which would place the operators in the same category as the half-heathen Native and confine him to Locations, and subject him to the harsher laws by which the Transvaal Kaffir is governed." ~ Vol. I, pp. 224-225

Before May 5, 1895
"So far as the feeling has been expressed, it is to degrade the Indian to the position of the Kaffir." ~ Vol. I, p. 229
Sept. 26, 1896
"Ours is one continual struggle against a degradation sought to be inflicted upon us by the Europeans, who desire to degrade us to the level of the raw Kaffir whose occupation is hunting, and whose sole ambition is to collect a certain number of cattle to buy a wife with and, then, pass his life in indolence and nakedness." ~ Vol. I, pp. 409-410
Before May 27, 1899
"Your Petitioner has seen the Location intended to be used by the Indians. It would place them, who are undoubtedly infinitely superior to the Kaffirs, in close proximity to the latter." ~ Vol. II, p. 270
June 1, 1906
"The Boer Government insulted the Indians by classing them with the Kaffirs." ~ Vol. V, p. 59
Source: Gandhi and South African Blacks
(http://www.gandhiserve.org/e/cwmg/cwmg.htm)
*(NOTE-The term kaffir is considered a racial slur used in reference to indigenous Black South Africans.)
Gandhi also campaigned against the efforts of the Dalits, The Black "Untouchables" of India, and for the maintenance of the caste system right up to his death.
2. There are currently no statues of our own heroes and heroines on our campus:
We are of the view that if there should be statues on our campus, then, first and foremost, they should be of African heroes and heroines, who can serve as examples of who we are and what we have achieved as a people. In a context where our youth know so little about our own history, such statues can serve as an opportunity for such learning to occur. Why should we uplift other people's 'heroes' at an African university when we haven't lifted up our own? We consider this to be a slap in the face that undermines our struggles for autonomy, recognition and respect. Indeed, what would have been more fitting than to erect a statue of the former member of the University Council, Mr. Sam Aboah, who financed the construction of the quadrangle, and also financed the planting of the teak trees on the top of the Legon Hill near the Registry.
3. Removal of racist symbols from "world-class" universities:
The University of Ghana seeks to be a world class university. At world class universities, even former bastions of slavery, apartheid and white supremacy, statues and other symbols associated with controversial persons have been pulled down or removed. Below are just a few examples:
- August 2016: Yale University is in the process of removing stained glass windows that depict enslaved Africans. It is also reconsidering keeping the name of Calhoun College, named for John C Calhoun, a 19th-century vice-president, South Carolina senator and Yale alumnus who established himself as a vocal advocate for slavery. In April 2015 President of Yale, Peter Salovey said the name would remain. He has since appointed a new committee to

develop guidelines for proposals to remove historical names from university buildings -- including Calhoun's.
- May 2016: Yale announced it would name a residential college, set to open in 2017, for Anna Pauline "Pauli" Murray, a black Yale Law School alumna and civil rights activist.
- March 2016: A committee tasked with re-considering Harvard Law School's seal in light of its ties to slavery recommended that the Harvard Corporation revoke the emblem's status as the school's official symbol. The seal bears the crest of the former slave-owning Royall family, whose donation helped establish Harvard's first law professorship in the late 18th century.
- November 2015: Georgetown University renamed two buildings on campus, Mulledy and McSherry Hall, that honour former presidents who organized the sale of slaves to a Louisiana plantation to help pay off the school's debt. (The school has not yet chosen permanent names, but for now Mulledy Hall will be called Freedom Hall, and McSherry Hall will be named Remembrance Hall, according to the Washington Post).
- October 2015: Rhodes University established a renaming team to remove the name of Cecil Rhodes, former prime minister of the Cape colony, and one of the founders of apartheid.[3]
- March to April 2015: First the senate and then the Council of the University of Cape Town voted to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes.
4. Protests against statues of Gandhi throughout the world:
There have been protests against Gandhi's statues in Irving, Texas in 2014. According to Gandhism.org, "past protests occurred at Gandhi statues in California in 2013 in the cities of Fresno and Cerritos, in San Francisco in 2011 and 2010, in Flint, Michigan in 2010," in London in 2008 and in 2003 and 2015 in Johannesburg, South Africa, where Gandhi lived for 21 years and where he is known for his role in the establishment of the infamous caste-like apartheid system.
5. There was no consultation about the placing of the statue:
The University of Ghana has a tradition for the naming of buildings—a committee works on this and seeks the views of members of the University community and important stakeholders as the case may be. While we speak here about a statue and not the naming of a building, we are of the view that similar principles of transparency and consultation should apply. In the case of the Gandhi statue it would appear from responses the immediate past Vice-Chancellor gave to emails on the University email list, that he took the decision alone. He explained that the statue was a gift from the embassy of the Republic of India. To questions about what we received or were promised in return no answer was forthcoming.

[4] We urge Council and the management of the University of Ghana, that in the future when buildings are named or statues erected, that colleagues from requisite Departments be consulted so it does not appear as if our academics do not have pertinent information.
We can do the honourable thing by pulling down the statue. It is

better to stand up for our dignity than to kowtow to the wishes of a burgeoning Eurasian super-power. Some harm has already been done by erecting the statue. We have failed the generation that look up to us, namely our students. How will the historian teach and explain that Gandhi was un-charitable in his attitude towards the Black race and see that we're glorifying him by erecting a statue on our campus? The same goes for the human rights lecturer, the International Law lecturer, the Political Science lecturer teaching on apartheid in South Africa, etc. However, to allow the statue to remain on our campus will do even more harm and make us appear to hold double-standards.
We should not bury our head in the sand and expect that the storm will die down.
We thank you for your attention!
For questions or comments contact:
Prof. Akosua Adomako Ampofo (UG - IAS)
Prof. Akosua Adoma Perbi (UG - History)
Dr. Kwadwo Appiagyei-Atua (UG - Law)
Dr. Ọbádélé Kambon (UG - IAS)
Mr. Mantse Aryeequaye (Accra Dot Alt)
#GandhiMustComeDown Movement

Contact Emails:
obadele.kambon@gmail.com
adomako@gmail.com
naanugbor@yahoo.com

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[1] Commonly known by his supporters as Mahatma 'great soul'. We will avoid using the title Mahatma in this write-up and rather use Gandhi's birth name.
[2] http://www.legonconnect.com/gandhi-in-legon-p-leeeeeeeeeee…/
http://ugfile.com/the-deception-of-mahatmas-iconography-wh…/
http://pulse.com.gh/…/mahatma-gandhi-will-gandhi-fall-in-ac…
https://rawgist.com/ug-pull-ghandis-statue-racist/
http://pyrexgh.com/reasons-gandhi-statue-must-taken-legon-…/
https://www.instagram.com/p/BHLIoR9B2m3/
http://radiounivers1057.com/…/university-of-ghana-students…/
[3] http://www.iol.co.za/…/rhodes-university-seeks-renaming-tea…
[4] It has been reported on the Government of Ghana's website that there is a financial angle to this on a governmental level:http://www.ghana.gov.gh/…/2848-ghana-and-india-sign-three-a…
This petition will be delivered to:
• Chairman of Council/Government Appointee
Prof. Kwamena Ahwoi
• University of Ghana
Members of the University of Ghana Council

Read the letter

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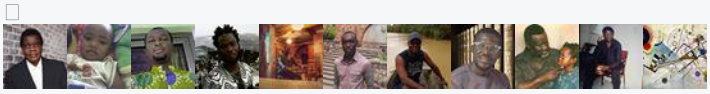

14Emmanuel Sibanyoni, DA Tonyemevor and 12 others
1 share
36 comments
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Tweneboah Senzu Prof. Lang Nubuor , great work done, document the work and let counter petition "Ghandi Must Stand". Will foot some of the expenses to achieve that as well, believing other fellows will support accordingly in a strong opposition to such weak intellectual reactionary move.
Unlike · Reply · 6 · 17 September at 17:26

Eric Amegashie Yeah. ..weak !! Thats the WORD !!
Unlike · Reply · 2 · 17 September at 17:29

Eric Amegashie The intellectual weakness of intolerance is our biggest challenge in society today.who in this world including the petitioners are flawless, we have all made mistakes and hopefully will know better moving forward, but at last that's not what is happening, is it arrogance or ignorance, may be both , all in their big brain's of perfection. Ladies and gentlemen , the petitioners are in court with dirty hands , therefore I find it difficult to support this immoral argument, they lack the morality to justify , a judgement on a fellow human , any replacement of Ghandi,s statue is not flawless, lets finger point to the way forward
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 September at 18:20

Abena Kumordzi Lang Nubuor, a progressive person can support the inhuman treatment or the caste system as it pertains in India even today. Ghandi's statement that the semitic race is superior to the negroid race thus should not be subjected to the inhuman conditions that the negro is subjected to is an insult to all the human race. Even though India is a friend of Ghana we can not be part and parcel of their caste system. It is a fact that Ghanaian at times call each other by negative names no Ghanaian born to two different tribes suffer discrimination as is the case in India. One need to read the stories of Tagor an Indian writer to know what the caste system is. Ghandi's statute must fall. I agree.
Like · Reply · 1 · 19 September at 14:00

Yaw Adu-Larbi When did Gandhi justify the caste system? Was he still justifying it in his latter life, if at all he ever did.
Like · Reply · 1 · 19 September at 14:15

Yaw Adu-Larbi The problem we have in a lot of our intellectual discourse is the lack of historicity. Why do we hold things against people long after they have cast away their intellectual sloth? The same people perpetuating such thought could end up in church and imbibe stuff about Saul becoming Paul on the way from Damascus.
Like · Reply · 2 · 19 September at 14:24

Lang Nubuor Yaw, Great.
Like · Reply · 2 · 19 September at 14:28

Kwame Yeboah Some of the most intellectual people are religious as well. To Christians, Saul repented and became Paul. He denounced his old ways. Believing it also is the problem
Reply · 1 · 19 September at 14:28

Write a reply...

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Brilliant piece. I'm ready to sign
Unlike · Reply · 2 · 17 September at 17:34

Kwasi Adarkwa If Gandhi ever became the Prime Minister of Apartheid, he would have maintained the oppression of Blacks or Bantu. How do I come to this conclusion ? When he was in a position to influence governance in his home country, he actually endorsed and reinforced the caste system. A system worse than any other class system in the world.
Like · Reply · 17 September at 18:07

Kwasi Adarkwa If Gandhi ever became the Prime Minister of Apartheid , he would have maintained the oppression of Blacks or Bantu. How do I come to this conclusion ? When he was in a position to influence governance in his home country, he actually endorsed and reinforced the caste system. A system worse than any other class system in the world. Such a person could be honoured by his caste elites and those who think like him , but not us those he des
Like · Reply · 17 September at 18:11

Kwasi Adarkwa If Gandhi ever became the Prime Minister of Apartheid South Africa, he would have maintained the oppression of Blacks or Bantu. How do I come to this conclusion ? When he was in a position to influence governance in his home country, he actually endorsed and reinforced the caste system. A system worse than any other class system in the world. Such a person could be honoured by his caste elites and those who think like him , but not those of us whom he despised.

Like · Reply · 3 · 17 September at 18:22 · Edited

Eric Amegashie Why now, mr kwasi Adarkwa, how long has the statue been there, we just woke up to all this moral justification, if Jesus was alive to day , he surely will face persecution . How many head's have we not beheaded, and continue to behead due to our Righteousness . You and I , will never achieve what Ghandi achieve in life , humble your thought process , so God help us

Like · Reply · 17 September at 18:35

Tweneboah Senzu You opinionly make a rational deduction of a human behavior on the grounds of assumption. Kwasi Adarkwa are you serious or it a joke. How will you define your scholarly methodology? Did you really take your time to read the text and understand? Adios !!!

Like · Reply · 3 · 17 September at 18:43

Kwasi Adarkwa I really understood what was written and I have made my opinion as clear as possible.

Like · Reply · 17 September at 19:10

Tweneboah Senzu Ok Thank you

Like · Reply · 17 September at 19:34

Write a reply...

Ingrid Loiten Powerful!!! We must read this with a truly need to understand, not to just to respond. My takeaway: "they neglect Africa's internal problems for which they have no solutions and rather seek comfort in distractions born of Western concerns to hide their intellectual deficit on their own continent.". This sums it up.

Like · Reply · 3 · 17 September at 18:37

Eric Amegashie The intellectual deficit of the black african is what is sinking the African Continent, everything african is wrong!! Its just a shame, my Goodness

Like · Reply · 17 September at 18:44

Write a reply...

Ingrid Loiten I'd like to know who is funding this protest. From my experience, you must follow the money..... that will give you answers. Poor students, being used as pawns when their professors should be facilitating and developing the greatness in them. Oh Africa.
Like · Reply · 2 · 17 September at 18:42

Ingrid Loiten Is everyone here aware that Africans spend $35 BILLION on importations?? How about us discussing this. I'd love that. There is nothing imported that we cant make ourselves and in fact we use to produce? Laaawwwks, we cahna (corner) dark!!!! Jamaican saying meaning that we are in a very very bad and hopeless state of affairs.
Like · Reply · 2 · 17 September at 18:51 · Edited

View all 3 replies

Write a reply...

Kofi Guar-Gorman Lang Nubuor Brilliant and a fair critique, the Ghandi Must come down movement seem not to have any original ideas to support their petition other than falling on foreign precedent. It's not indigenous you will think that this being a university they should exhibit local scholarship, and provide alternative hero's to be erected. On the other hand for Ghandi must stand petition I will need a bit more convincing because the Ghandi course had no direct relationship with the African cause. He can have a hall named after him not a statue.
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 September at 19:19

Kofi Guar-Gorman Ingrid Loiten Africa imports almost everything in Billions of dollars thousands true. there are several factors that leads to that in fact the list is endless. But the one I would like to draw attention to is our lack of self believe. I would like to use Safo Kantanka of Ghana for instance. The first time I heard about him was at the 1999 trade fair show, he had designed and made a car engine bloc entirely from Palm kenel nut. He told us that these nuts when heated to certain temperature could become as hard as steel, and this was entirely his invention. Fast forward 2015. He has improved and now Manufactures saloon car to 4x4 he Manufactures not assemble his own renege of kantanka cars. When he wanted to register the car with the driver vehicles license authority to enable tests driving it was turned down, he had to struggle for years with the Ghana authorities before the vehicle was registered and testing was done and it passed all the required standards. Now he has started mass production but no Ghana government agency or company has placed an order yet. Simply because it's made in Ghana so it will not be good.
We need to believe in our selves as a continent in order to be able to stand tall in th committee of nations.

This same inventor has built, stone crashers, bulldozers, block making machine, Tv's, CCTV that can record audio the first in the world and many more. He has vaccine from tropical plants for agriculture that improve reproduction in ruminants naturally.

We have many more of such inventors and pace setters across the continent but the issue is their people and government don't believe in them.
Like · Reply · 6 · 17 September at 19:32

View all 3 replies

Write a reply...

Kwame Yeboah After reading this piece, I have decided to SUPPORT the five professors and the protesters of University of Ghana to pull down the statue. There is nothing in Lang Nubour's critique that is compeling reason why we should erect a statue at the University of Ghana for Ghandi. I rather fine Nubour' critique and not the petitioners' reasons are as shallow. GHANDI MUST FALL.
3 · 17 September at 19:36

George Kanzoni Uncle great work done. I'm ever ready to sign up for it.
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 September at 20:10

Kojo Opoku Aidoo I'm sure the statue will prevail! I've been throughout this afternoon trying to find out why a Hindu assassinated Gandhi, himself a Hindu too. It's evident that at the point when Gandhi tried to universalize or homogenize his views and ideas, the Indian power structure became antagonistic towards him,. The homogenization of Gandhian views, by implication, meant extension of self determination to all including the "untouchables". That cost Gandhi his life! So, in a very special way, Gandhi developed a liberatory/emancipatory narrative with a universal appeal. He must stand, for giving us a theory of resistance and of emancipation. He died for us!
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 September at 20:47 · Edited

Kwadwo Akosah · 30 mutual friends
Please read these:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/.../what-did-mahatma.../

http://www.minoritiesofindia.org/gandhi-spreads-racial.../
Like · Reply · 17 September at 21:45 · Edited

Kweku Darko Ankrah Unfortunately my dear Prof Lang Nubour's critique is too shallow. It never exonerated Gandhi from his afrophobic comments and his avid support for caste system within Indian society. Even J S Mill criticized the caste system with the top ruling class as parasitic. Ghandhi found nothing wrong with it just as he disrespected the negroid race. Ghandhi must fall. No attempt at defending a fellow socialist from another country can overturn Ghandhi's inglorious bigotry. The issue is more than comradeship.
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 September at 22:36

Kwame Yeboah Kojo Opoku Aidoo, were you expecting him to fight for a liberated India without the "untouchables" in that country? No. Liberation of India meant everybody in India. After the country became independent and was

under his control did he fight for equal rights for all India citizens? The presence of the cast system shows he did not. Why did Ghandi fight for more rights for Indians than Blacks in South Africa. They were all oppressed so why be selfish for your people alone and not all oppressed people? Because he did not consider the Blacks as human enough to warrant equal status as Indians. Read the language he used to describe blacks. If he initiated resistance to free his country, great. American used resistance to free their country. The French, the Russians etc did that. Do we have to erect statues for Peter the Great, George Washington and others in Ghana because of that? No. Because their struggle was at the expensed of other people. Let their people sing songs of praise and built statues for them but why Ghana? When did we stop being Kaffirs for Ghandi? The mark of respect for a person is his humanity. If you respect his humanity, you respect his right to freedom. Did Ghandi respect us as humans? No. The continent of Africa is full of heroics of ordinary people to free themselve as far back as migration. Ask the Ewe, Gas and Ashantis. The great Yaa Asantewaa led a war against the British. Queen Nzinga of Kuba (present day Angola) led resistance against slavery. Resistance is still going on against neocolonialism. For us to forget the insult Ghandi heaped on our own people just because he led a resistance for freedom of his country that is not part of Africa is insulting to our own selves. Are we going to be progressive that worship any body that talked or still talks progressive language even if his struggle is of no meaning to us and has no respect for us as humans. Or should we honor such people just because the History Professors in Ghana do not do a good job of teaching our history? The mere fact that we are idolising Ghandi is a symptom of our bad education. What do we want? Rhetorics or concrete actions. Ghandi may be an idol of Indians but are we seriously going to erect a statue for him at our foremost University in Ghana? Are we going to continue the education that makes us idolize other peoples heroes at our own expense and dignity? Come on Ghanaians, you are better than that. You are the ancestors of Kwame Nkrumah.
2 · 17 September at 23:08

Hide 11 Replies

Ritav Santra Look Sir, The Demand is linked with hooliganism But I must say in my country India Mahatma is used as a cult-a cult which propagates fake nationalism and is intentionaly done by congressmen to cajole my poor countrymen to think in away they want to think
Like · 18 September at 01:38

Ritav Santra Being an Indian marxist history Scholar to me Gandhi and his "elitist" congress had little to play in the Independce of India..lest we forget how the Bastion of Non Violence the congress suppressed the armed struggles
Like · 1 · 18 September at 01:43 · Edited

Eric Amegashie Emotionally expressed, we are speaking here after the facts, whatever the reason, we now have a different reason, why it shouldn't be there.....Statue in or Statue out, what changes
Like · 18 September at 01:50

Eric Amegashie Ritav Santra, thanks for sharing your thoughts , its seems to me you become very emotional about Ghandi, s flaws, but being Marxist scholar, what are your perception and comments of Mao Zedong, and other communist leaders,
Like · 18 September at 01:59

Ritav Santra Gandhian flaws ovewhelm his contributions What a sort of independence was that The Landmass was not divided Divided were the hearts of the people

Like · 1 · 18 September at 02:10

Eric Amegashie Ghandi's flaws overwhelm his contributions, in conclusion. .....

Like · 18 September at 02:19

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Do we then conclude that the presence of poverty in Ghana means that Nkrumah did nothing about it, Kwame Yeboah?

Like · 1 · 18 September at 05:06

Tweneboah Senzu It seems to me people have build their perception and drawn their conclusion lines before reading the text hence most valuable projection of the content has lost to the blind spot. If permitted will elucidate the important fraction this essay seek to achieve

Like · 1 · 18 September at 06:32

Kojo Opoku Aidoo It has become imperative for us to dig deep into history to absolve Gandhi, who despite his expanding humanism has come under considerable attack in modern Ghana. It's our duty to defend the immortal heritage of the man. In what follows I cite 3 quotations from him to indicate that he really "tidied up" respecting his views on Blacks!

(i) "They can use the powerful argument that they are the children of the soil.. We can petition the Secretary of State for India, whereas they cannot. They belong largely to the Christian community and can therefore avail themselves of the help of their priests. Such help is not available to us." Gandhi in Indian Opinion , 24 March 1906 (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Volume5, p 243)

(ii) " England has got successful competitors in America, Japan, France, Germany. It has competitors in the handful of mills in India, and as there has been an awakening in India, even so there will be an awakening in South Africa with its vastly richer resources -- natural, mineral and human. The mighty English look quite pigmies before the mighty races of Africa. They are noble savages after all, you will say. They are certainly noble, but no savages and in the course of a few years the Western nations may cease to find in Africa a dumping ground for their wares."
Gandhi, speaking at Oxford, October 24, 1931 (CWMG , Volume 48, p.225).

(iii) "You, on the other hand, are the sons of the soil who are being robbed of your inheritance. You are bound to resist that. Yours is a far bigger issue." Gandhi to Rev S.S. Tema , member of the African Congress, January 1, 1939 (CWMG, Volume 68, pp 272-273.)

I

Like · 4 · 18 September at 07:03 · Edited

Kojo Opoku Aidoo But Kwadwo Akosah, in the link you provide the authors write: ‘‘As we examined Gandhi’s actions and contemporary writings during his South African stay, and compared these with what he wrote in his autobiography and 'Satyagraha in South Africa,' it was apparent that he indulged in some ‘tidying up.' He was effectively rewriting his own history.’’ What do "ti-

dying up" and "rewriting his own history" mean? Whether we like it or not Gandhi, by the time he was assassinated had become the consummate defender of rights and freedom for all. That's what 'tidying up' means, if it means anything at all! It becomes important to periodize. We can honour our own heroes if we so wish. Nkrumah's statue stands in front of KNUST in Kumasi. I would rather utilise my energies to get more of such, rather than utilise them to bring down Gandhi, who broke with his past and remain hugely inspirational for the global movement of resistance!

Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 05:30 · Edited

Tweneboah Senzu It seems to me people have built their perception and drawn their conclusion lines before reading the text hence most valuable projection of the content has lost to the blind spot. If permitted will elucidate the important fraction this essay seek to achieve, step by step

Like · Reply · 18 September at 06:55

Tweneboah Senzu 1. **Tweneboah Senzu** 1. Lang Nubuor never justify the "cause" of rooting the Statue as the text stands but questions the role of the statue to be the least of our socio-economic problems, if the effort is to persuade and seek mass support.

However refer to the specialist trumpeting the authority of Ghana premier university, to begin, to up hold authority on how to address the monetary slavery for true freedom of our people

2. What is the philosophical intention of the movement and the effect. As it stands now the movement respond to the desire of a minor class category and further believe such a reactionary move is not upheld in a strong intellectual grounds in the substance of it own spirit, this indicate it will not stand test of time hence causing more damage diplomatically than we can imagine now.

3. Evidence presented here as reference to support such reactionary move, seem to be a reported articles around him which are subjected to +/- historic errors per who write it and why?

4. Lang further argue that if Ghandi speech was a "meant" action but not a reactionary move to respond to circumstances that occurred in the X-moment, such could had affected the Indians relation with Ghanaians during the period of Dr. Nkrumah up to date

5. I could state with fact and experiences of numerous Engineers in Ghana Railway Company in early 80s & 90s who had their scholarship training in India . The Flagstaff house sponsored by them, Finally the Bawumia, Nana Akuffo Addo, Keneddy Agyapon IMF-Guaranteed loan which flooded Ghana in Kuffours regime that none of the companies paid it has it secret back roots from there. I foresee the Indians even being friends more than our fellow African neighbours. So this should be the least of our worries if possible, but the History professors should focus in their authentic work for the reformation of our children.

Like · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 16:03 · Edited

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Excellent Tweneboah Senzu!
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 07:42

Kojo Opoku Aidoo GANDHI MUST STAND!

It has become imperative for us to dig deep into history to absolve Gandhi, who despite his expanding humanism has come under considerable attack in modern Ghana. It's our duty to defend the immortal heritage of the man. In what fo...See more
Like · Reply · 4 · 18 September at 07:53 · Edited

Hide 31 Replies

Lang Nubuor Thanks, Dr. Aidoo, for this correct attitude to historical research!

It is certainly strange that the historians of the GANDHIMUSTCOMEDOWN MOVEMENT relied only on Gandhi's statements in his youth in 1896 and neglected his comments in his maturity 35 years later.

This reactionary selective methodology by trained academic professionals confirms the poor student materials they produce at the University of Ghana.

And they dare to complain about student inadequacy in terms of their knowledge of African history.

It is a fundamental shame that they rather seek refuge in the lack of statue of financiers of limited projects on Legon campus to implicitly explain the student deficit in knowledge of African history.

Consequently, they rely on building a statue of a nationally unknown member of the University Council to teach students African history.

This shameful negligence in academic performance and laziness are the bane of African development.

Thank goodness that research in history is not a monopoly of the inferior historians in the GandhiMustComeDown Movement.

This small set of academic misfits, applying selective methodology in historical analysis, is misleading the crowd to a neo-colonial pit.

Thank goodness that history at Legon has reproduced Glorious Renegade researchers like Dr. Kojo Opoku Aidoo in continuation of the Spirit of Resistance initiated by Dr. Emmanuel Hansen, Dr. Ebow Hutchful and Mr. Chris Hesse of the Political Science Department in the '70s and '80s.

This era calls for a writing of history of these Glorious Renegades in our academic history in a series entitled 'The Glorious Renegades Of Academia in Africa'.

This is the History of Resistance to imperialism and neo-colonialism that should engage progressive intellectuals and academicians but not signing mediocre Petitions based on selective facts of history.

GANDHI MUST STAND!
Like · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 12:44

Kojo Opoku Aidoo I've been fighting them on a university platform, where they claim to have 850 signatures, which they intend to submit to university council. Shall we get ours signed and distributed to media and council ASAP?
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 13:04

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Tweneboah Senzu, shall we meet in the course of the week with Lang etc?
Like · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 13:09

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Maybe, Abraham Allotey, Lang, Tweneboah and myself can meet up by mid-week. We don't have time. Council must receive ours about same time. And, we need some media work to raise awareness.
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 13:13

Tweneboah Senzu OK let agree on the time and where?
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 13:20

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Let's get Lang Nubuor for his view. We can meet anywhere including my office at the Institute of African Studies, Legon.
Like · Reply · 18 September at 13:23

Isaac Winful Dadzie From Mahatma K. Ghandi's autobiography which he started writing in 1925 and published in 1957 (this write up reflects his somehow last state of mind and experience before death in 1948. Mind you, the quoted words by the petitioners, where he is noted...See more
Unlike · Reply · 3 · 18 September at 13:33 · Edited

Tweneboah Senzu Great work done Dadzie, I felt the History teachers have not done their homework well. Such is my pain because as a history professors cross-checking fact before you act is requisite duty. The essence of triangulation in research practice
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 13:35 · Edited

Kojo Opoku Aidoo The Petition is bogus, fraudulent and mischievous
Unlike · Reply · 3 · 18 September at 13:31

Isaac Winful Dadzie We can set up an online petition at Change.org with all the stated facts and arguments to get more signatures and educate students. This can be done even after our petition has been presented to the Council.

The world's platform for change

Change.org is the world's largest petition platform, using technology to empower more than 100…
CHANGE.ORG

Unlike · Reply · Remove Preview · 3 · 18 September at 13:45

Tweneboah Senzu Lead that assignment Dadzie please

Like · Reply · 18 September at 13:47

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Great, Isaac! I think you should take charge of this aspect. Lang Nubuor has done a great draft. I think we can add a few facts about Gandhi's universal appeal etc. Then there are few I suggest we take out of the Lang draft eg "Gbeyecious", which some of us understand but the general public may not

Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 13:50

Tweneboah Senzu Hahahahaha "Gbeyecious"

Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 13:52

Kojo Opoku Aidoo That's one word I learnt from Lang Nubuor several years ago. Like 'kwashiorkor' it could eventually find its way into the Oburoni language lol

Like · Reply · 18 September at 13:55

Lang Nubuor Kojo Opoku Aidoo I'm ready anytime from tomorrow. So as not to waste time let's constitute ourselves into a group of five or more made up of Aidoo, Tweneboah Senzu, Abraham Allotey , Isaac Winful Dadzie and Lang Nubuor. Dr. Aidoo must prepare our Petition in a draft on the basis of our contributions here as well as other material. It must address the inaccuracies in the reactionary Petition under the banner GANDHI MUST STAND!. After this we'll put it online for signatures. Aidoo must fix a date and time for our meeting to discuss and present it immediately.

Like · Reply · 3 · 18 September at 13:57

Tweneboah Senzu In full support

Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 14:00

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Alright, I should get it done and circulate by mid-day tomorrow. Comrades then read and make suggestions on line. We can then meet by Thursday to sign and present to Council and media

Like · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 14:00

Lang Nubuor Isaac Winful Dadzie That's what we need to do but Aidoo must do the write-up which will go online for signatures after the presentation of our Counter-Petition. Isaac Winful Dadzie must do the media/publicity work. Kojo Opoku Aidoo must give us the day and time now.

Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 14:07

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Lang Nubuor, here's is a provisional time table: Tomorrow by mid-day - Draft will be ready and circulated to us all for additions/subtractions/approval. Thursday - Meeting on Legon campus to sign and present to council. We can after that submit to the media

Unlike · Reply · 3 · 18 September at 14:12

Lang Nubuor Excellent. I'm agreeable to this. The others, Tweneboah Senzu, Abraham Allotey and Isaac Winful Dadzie, must make their responses known now, please.

Like · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 14:17

Yaw Adu-Larbi Fantastic! Folks.

Unlike · Reply · 3 · 18 September at 14:18

Lang Nubuor Yaw Adu-Larbi Can you be available to join us? The bigger the delegation the better, Comrades.
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 14:21

Yaw Adu-Larbi I'll really consider joining.
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 14:24

Lang Nubuor Be smart, Yaw Adu-Larbi.
Like · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 14:25

Lang Nubuor Kojo Opoku Aidoo Isaac Winful Dadzie can take care of the media.
Like · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 14:30

Tweneboah Senzu Full support to any lay down rules and schedules
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 14:30

Isaac Winful Dadzie I will set it up but I need our petition first. Some good one amongst us can put all the thoughts together into a petition. I suggest Dr. Opoku drafts it with Nubuor.
Unlike · Reply · 2 · 18 September at 14:44

Lang Nubuor Isaac Winful Dadzie, Let's not waste time. Dr. Aidoo will make the draft available for our comments and suggestions to finalize it. This must be a total collective effort inspired by the democratic spirit. All must be part of the working out of the Counter-Petition.
Like · Reply · 3 · 18 September at 14:50

Write a reply...

Tweneboah Senzu Fellow that is the spirit of intellectualism. We debate for knowledge advancement towards the development of society not driven on emotional argument lacking substance of deduction and action. Will stay tune
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September at 08:00

Lang Nubuor Thanks, Dr. Aidoo, for this correct attitude to historical research!

It is certainly strange that the historians of the GANDHIMUSTCOMEDOWN MOVEMENT relied only on Gandhi's statements in his youth in 1896 and neglected his comments in his days of maturity 35 years later.

This reactionary selective methodology by trained academic professionals confirms the poor student materials they produce at the University of Ghana.

And they dare to complain about student inadequacy in terms of their knowledge of African history.

It is a fundamental shame that they rather seek refuge in the lack of statues of

financiers of limited projects on Legon campus to implicitly explain the student deficit in knowledge of African history.

Consequently, they rely on building a statue of a nationally unknown member of the University Council to teach students African history.

This shameful negligence in academic performance and laziness are the bane of African development.

Thank goodness that research in history is not a monopoly of the inferior historians in the GandhiMustComeDown Movement.

This small set of academic misfits, applying selective methodology in historical analysis, is misleading the crowd to a neo-colonial deeper pit.

Thank goodness that history at Legon has reproduced Glorious Renegade researchers like Dr. Kojo Opoku Aidoo in continuation of the Spirit of Resistance initiated by Dr. Emmanuel Hansen, Dr. Ebow Hutchful and Mr. Chris Hesse of the Political Science Department in the '70s and '80s.

This era calls for a writing of the history of these Glorious Renegades in our academic history in a series entitled 'The Glorious Renegades Of Academia in Africa'.

This is the History of Resistance to imperialism and neo-colonialism on African University campuses that should engage progressive intellectuals and academicians but not signing mediocre Petitions based on selected facts of history.

GANDHI MUST STAND!

Like · Reply · 4 · 18 September at 15:36 · Edited

Isaac Winful Dadzie "I considered myself a citizen of Natal, being intimately connected with it. So I wrote to the Governor, expressing my readiness, if necessary, to form an Indian Ambulance Corps. He replied immediately accepting the offer. I had not expected such prompt acceptance.... I went to Durban and appealed for men. A big contingent was not necessary. We were a party of twenty-four, of whom, besides me, four were Gujaratis. The rest were ex-indentured men from South India, excepting one who was a free Pagan. In order to give me a status and to facilitate work, as also in accordance with the existing convention, the Chief Medical Officer appointed me to the temporary rank of Sergeant Major and three men selected by me to the rank of sergeants and one to that of corporal....At any rate my heart was with the Zulus, and I was delighted, on reaching headquarters, to hear that our main work was to be the nursing of the wounded Zulus. The Medical Officer in charge welcomed us. He said the white people were not willing nurses for the wounded Zulus, that their wounds were festering, and that he was at his word's end. " - (The Story of My Experiment with Truth, An Autobiography of Mahatma K. Ghandi, 1957, Beulahland Publications, page 313-314)

Unlike · Reply · 6 · 18 September at 16:39

Lang Nubuor Gandhi was indeed concerned with Black Africans.

Like · Reply · 4 · 18 September at 16:44

Write a reply...

John Denyo · Friends with Diana Osah
Hello oo
Like · Reply · 19 September at 15:22

Yaw Adu-Larbi For the information of the ignoramus mouthing off against Gandhi, there is a monument to the memory of Kwame Nkrumah in India. This is in recognition of his contribution to the Third World and Non-Aligned Movement. Gandhi predated the NAM but the causes he was involved in were universal. Gandhi could not on his own overthrow a millennium old institution of the caste system on a whim. Defeating it would have involved, and would still involve, serious social engineering. The emphasis in his time was doing away with British rule first. It would have been politically unwise to tackle the caste system ahead of political independence. That would driven the priestly and other locally vested interests against the popular movement and delayed independence.
Unlike · Reply · 5 · 19 September at 16:09

Tweneboah Senzu Your fire is rising in momentum welcome to the club Sir
Like · Reply · 1 · 19 September at 16:32

Abena Kumordzi Yaw Adu-Larbi, you have witnessed how Mao Tse Tung tackled the caste system in China, wiping it out completely. To banish racism Kwame Nkrumah on the eve of declaring Ghana independent went with Ghanaians to the Polo Grounds were Negroes were prevented by colonial laws from stepping their foot (it is on record that the place was not bared from people of the semitic race, none of whom protested, rather they enjoyed to see that the Negro is relegated to the level of a donkey.
Like · Reply · 26 September at 15:07

Write a reply...

Ritav Santra plz read the article and do sign the petition I urge u gentlemen on behalf of the intellectuals from Ghana Souvik DasguptaSauvik Sarkar Joydip Sarkar Raja Das Subrata Khastagir Dipankar ChakrabortyVarun Chakraborty Agnishwar Chakraborty Arijit Gautam রোহিত পাশি Mayukh Roychowdhury নটরাজ ভট্টাচার্য
Unlike · Reply · 6 · 21 September at 11:47

Isaac Winful Dadzie http://www.ipetitions.com/.../counter-petition-for-the...

Counter-Petition for the Conservation/Preservation of the…

IPETITIONS.COM

Like · Reply · Remove Preview · 2 · 21 September at 13:05

Write a reply...

Ritav Santra Here my friend for a long time we engaged ourselves in the tug of war regarding our different ideological standings. You a supporter of Ultra Indian hind nationalism and me being a communist party member remained freinds
plz do sign the petition Souvik Dasgupta
Unlike · Reply · 2 · 21 September at 12:16

Isaac Winful Dadzie http://www.ipetitions.com/.../counter-petition-for-the...

Counter-Petition for the Conservation/Preservation of the...

IPETITIONS.COM

Like · Reply · Remove Preview · 1 · 21 September at 13:05

Write a reply...

Tweneboah Senzu Ritav Santra I am aware of the effort fully informed by Prof. Lang but the correct petition to sign is the attach below link, I will set here
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 September at 12:29 · Edited

Tweneboah Senzu https://m.facebook.com/story.php...
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 September at 12:33

Tweneboah Senzu Or direct them to the page I am going to tag
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 September at 12:36

Isaac Winful Dadzie http://www.ipetitions.com/.../counter-petition-for-the...

Counter-Petition for the Conservation/Preservation of the Statue...

IPETITIONS.COM

Like · Reply · Remove Preview · 1 · 21 September at 13:12

Tweneboah Senzu The link is supplied by Comrade Dadzie above Ritav Santralet them use that to register

Like · Reply · 1 · 21 September at 13:27

Abena Kumordzi There are people who are so principled on the face book that will never hunt with the hounds and run with the game.

Like · Reply · 26 September at 15:17

Yaw Adu-Larbi All people are doing is to recycle arguments that ignore historicity and prevail on emotional arguments. No more.

Like · Reply · 1 · Yesterday at 00:48

Write a comment...

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3. STATEMENT BY THE GANDHIMUSTSTAND MOVEMENT IN COMMEMORATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF NON-VIOLENCE

On June 15 2007, at the 103rd Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 61/271 on International Day of Non-Violence was adopted.

By the terms of Resolution 61/271, the General Assembly decided to observe October 2 each year as the International Day of Non-Violence and brought 'to the attention of all people for its celebration and observance on this date.'

To this effect, the General Assembly invited all Member States, organizations, including non-governmental organizations, and individuals to commemorate the International Day of Non-Violence 'in an appropriate manner and to disseminate the message of non-violence, including through education and public awareness.'

On the occasion of the celebration and observance of the International Day of Non-Violence this year, the **GandhiMustStand Movement** takes cognisance of the Day, which falls on the Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi of India, as a recognition by the world body of Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy of Non-Violence in Resistance to racism and racial discrimination, ethnic and religious oppression, class exploitation and human rights violations.

As the most violated people of the world in all these categories, Black Africans take notice of the inspiration that our leaders, such as Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of the United States and Africa respectively, drew from Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy of Non-Violence in a Spirit of Resistance to advance the human rights of Africans in the United States and to achieve political independence on the African continent.

The **GandhiMustStand Movement** is proud to observe that Martin Luther King, Jr's own acknowledgement of Mahatma Gandhi's prime influence on him through his Philosophy of Non-Violence in a Spirit of Resistance is today immortalized in the

erection of Gandhi's statue at the Forecourt of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Centre in the United States of America.

In like manner, the **GandhiMustStand Movement** is proud to observe that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's own acknowledgement of applying the strategy and tactics of Gandhi's Philosophy of Non-Violence in a Spirit of Resistance not only to formulate his own Philosophy of Positive Action to achieve Ghana's independence but also to formulate the tactics and strategies for the liberation of many other African countries has today been immortalized by the Africa Union in its erection of his statue at the Africa Union Headquarters in Ethiopia.

On this memorable International Day of Non-Violence, we find it gratifying that the University of Ghana has deemed it appropriate, in concert with the UN Resolution on International Day of Non-Violence, to erect Mahatma Gandhi's statue on the premises of the University in acknowledgement of the positive influence of Gandhi's Philosophy on Black African leaders who have fought by non-violent means to liberate and raise the dignity of the Black person wherever they might be.

So much is done. So much is left to be done by Africans in application of Gandhian Non-Violence in the Spirit of Resistance against racism, ethnic oppression and class exploitation which Gandhi strongly ***renounced*** and ***denounced*** in the stated belief that no human being is superior over any other. Long Live the Strive for Peaceful Co-existence for a world of 'Different Colours One People'!

SIGNED
Dr. Emmanuel Tweneboah Senzu
(Member of the **GandhiMustStand Movement**)

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4. POURING LIBATION AS A METHOD OF SEMINAR PRESENTATION AT THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON[48]

By
Lang T.K.A. Nubuor

It happened on October 6 2016 at the Kwabena Nketia Conference

Centre of the Institute of African Studies (IAS) at Ghana's premier university, the University of Ghana (UG). The advertised seminar was addressed by Professor Akosua Adomako Ampofo, a former Director of the IAS, and Dr. Ọbádélé Kambon, a lecturer at the IAS. They are both members of the GandhiMustComeDown Movement which is campaigning for the removal of Mahatma Gandhi's statue from the grounds of the University. Ms Anyidoho was in the chair.

At the end, down the steps leading to the street in front of the IAS, a former lady student of the Institute, seething with suppressed anger, exploded with the remark 'Look at what the Institute of African Studies has been turned into! Today, it is the pouring of libation at a seminar. Later, it will be the speaking in tongues.' Prior to that, a young man, probably a student, was in great fury as he passed-by with the exclamation 'This is propaganda!' Still prior to these expressions of exasperation, Dr. Kambon held a poster shouting 'Gandhi Go!' behind the filing out audience at the close of the event.

Being the second speaker after Prof. Ampofo who sat down throughout to make her presentation, Dr. Kambon walked over to stand in front of the audience with the panel behind him. Having put the connections of his laptop to the slide-show screen right, he faced the audience with an average-sized calabash with water in it and stated that he was going to pour libation. The audience's response was a rumble of disapproval that took a course through the hall. He went on, all the same, to ask the audience to intermittently respond 'Yao!' (an African version of 'Amen!') to his eulogy of millennia-old Blacks.

Essentially, his presentation was non-analytical for a seminar projected to be of the standing worthy of academic intercourse at the level of

[48] The original title was 'Pouring Libation Becomes Part of Seminar Presentation at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon'.

a university. It had all the features of a one-sided TV documentary with images rolled alongside a narrative. In his case, however, the narrative exhibited no coherent thread that could hold it together to reflect the social reality of life's complexities and contradictoriness. The images of Black African faces were presented by Dr. Kambon as representations of piety while the juxtaposed images of Whites as of evil.

That the academic audience was not enthused by what was going on reflected in the increasing decrease in the voices that, thanks to Ghanaian hospitality, had to respond 'Yao' to every line of eulogy of a Black African and a denigration of a White person. Albert Einstein and Karl Marx were some of the Whites who were thus denigrated. And even with the Black Africans, Malcolm X was projected while Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was drawn out of the slide-show. This is not to talk about a black-out on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Africa's Man of the Millennium.

Yes, Dr. Ọbádélé Kambon dramatically poured water from the calabash in honour of his choice of African heroes and denied same for not only Whites whose positive influence on mankind is rightfully recorded in the annals of humanity. He also denies conspicuous Black African leaders whose thoughts and actions have defined the current African moment. On the part of his mentor, Prof. Akosua A. Ampofo, she chose to be less dramatic. With her, it was just an initiation of the disjointedness in presentation as Dr. Kambon was to complement in continuity.

In Prof. Ampofo's presentation, we found the same pick-and-chose method of organization of historical data that informed the Petition against the erection of Mahatma Gandhi's statue on the basis that Gandhi was a racist. A colleague who sat by this writer just kept asking him to leave since there was nothing new in what she was saying. The stay was worth it since we were able to observe the unprofessional truncation of the discussion period when another lecturer of the IAS, who, we were informed, had previously told the professor that he disagreed to her stance on the Gandhi statue issue, was denied his take.

Fortunately, that lecturer had succeeded in distributing copies of articles on Mahatma Gandhi's life in respect of the Mahatma's transition to a non-racial world view with particular reference to how he related to and inspired Black Africa's and African struggles for self-determination. One of the two research findings, Anil Nauriya's 'Gandhi's Economic and Political Significance in West Africa', states that 'In West Africa Gandhi's influence had spread substantially. In 1935, four years after Gandhi had declared his support for a free Gold Coast, Gandhi's friend and biographer C F Andrews had spent time in Achimota College.' That article is attached here.

In the second of the articles, also by Anil Nauriya, an Advocate of the Supreme Court of India, 'Freedom, Race, and Francophonie: Gandhi and the Construction of Peoplehood', it is stated that 'Among the causes that led to (Gandhi's) assassination was precisely his non-racial and non-denominational definition of Indian peoplehood.'

This is preceded by a citation from an article by Gandhi to this effect: '[Delhi] is the heart of India. It would be the limit of foolishness to regard it as belonging only to the Hindus or Sikhs. It may sound harsh but there is no exaggeration in it. It is the literal truth.

All Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews who people this country from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Karachi to Dibrugarh in Assam and who have lovingly and in a spirit of service adopted it as their dear motherland, have equal right to it. No one can say that it has place only for the majority and the minority should be dishonoured.

Whoever serves it with the purest devotion must have the right over it. Therefore, anyone who seeks to drive out the Muslims is Delhi's enemy number one and therefore India's enemy number one. (*Harijanbanhu*, January 18, 1948, CW, Vol 90, p. 419)' (*Paragraphs inserts by this writer from a single paragraph.)*

Twelve days later, Gandhi was shot dead by a fellow Hindu.

What passed as a seminar at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, was an extreme apology for an academic discourse. Gone are the days when seminar papers were distributed for study before the day of presentation. That enabled a serious scrutiny of papers. Now, no such distribution.

Memory serves this writer well in remembrance of a paper presentation at a seminar on 'African Socialism' by Dr. Igor Natufe at the Political Science Department, in the early 1980s. Kofi M. Klu was in attendance. Dr. Emmanuel Hansen was in the chair. The paper was rejected after a long period of debate.

Propaganda now reigns at the premier University and strict academic scrutiny is dashed to pieces. It was a shame what we saw and heard at the Institute of African Studies which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah established to pursue and enhance scientific studies of the African past and present to project the African Personality. Libation pouring as a method[49] of seminar presentations!

*Attached here is a snapshot from the 'seminar' showing Dr. Kambon in standing position holding the calabash in the process of pouring libation at the Kwabena Nketia Conference Centre at the IAS.

[49] This is rendered as 'part' in the original version.

DR. KOJO OPOKU AIDOO, A SENIOR FELLOW AT THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES (IAS), ASSESSES THE SEMINAR – WHERE HIS COLLEAGUES, PROF. AKOSUA ADOMAKO AMPOFO AND DR. OBADELE KAMBON, MADE THEIR RESPECTIVE PRESENTATIONS – IN THE FOLLOWING STRONG TERMS IN REFLECTION OF THE MOOD OF THE ACADEMIC AUDIENCE THERE

The presentations were pathetic, to say the least! The first paper lacked rigor and depth, was disjointed, and methodologically flawed. And, there was carelessness in the presentation of the facts. It was propaganda, by anybody's assessment. The presenter claimed to be talking about decolonizing the academia. Yet, there was no attempt at demonstrating the imperative of pluriversality to challenge the hegemony of western social science, thereby creating space for other epistemic systems. The presenter clearly wasn't versed in the emerging view of a social science to replace the social sciences on dialectical materialist foundations. The presentation was poor. The second presenter was worse! He poured libation, as Lang has mentioned. He settled on race as an analytical framework. It was hopeless. Decadent, even. In the end, a seminar intended to explore decolonisation of education became an exercise in absurdity, propaganda, and a debasement of the scientific theory!

A FACEBOOK COMMENT ON LIBATION BY LANG T.K.A. NUBUOR

Kweku, this libation thing must be resolved.

Dr. Kojo Opoku Aidoo , myself and others have explained that our objection has nothing to do with libation as such. Libation is prayer. Now, nobody DISCUSSES or OBJECTS to the contents of any prayer or libation after its delivery.

Dr. Ọbádélé Kambon was supposed to make a presentation at an academic seminar for a follow-up DISCUSSION. He chose the format of libation pouring for his presentation. This precluded any DISCUSSION of the presentation.

It was not as if a libation was poured as a starting prayer prior to the presentation. That would appear normal; for, that leaves the subsequent presentation open for DISCUSSION and CRITICAL analyses. But the guy made the ENTIRE presentation in the form of a libation.

For 15 minutes and more, he kept making unsupported statements at the end of EACH of which he asked the academic audience to say 'Yao! (Amen!)'. This continued THROUGHOUT the so-called presentation. And, matching to type, after the 'presentation' the expected DISCUSSION was quickly truncated.

You see, if this is what Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Prof. J. H. Kwabena Nketia were understood to mean to have done at ACADEMIC SEMINARS then to the best of my knowledge of the contents of Dr. Nkrumah's inaugural speech at the Institute of African Studies (IAS) and thereafter have grossly been misunderstood and abused.

A seminar is an occasion for a CRITICAL DISCUSSION of presentations. It is not an entertainment session for dramatization.

As I've already said elsewhere on my timeline, we would not have objected if the presentation in the libation pouring format were a performance on the platform of an opera or a drama of sorts.

Kweku Darko Ankrah, this is my last word on the issue of libation pouring as a format for academic and scientific presentation at the Institute of African Studies.

The next time we come to the IAS for a SEMINAR and we see a calabash for a similar dramatization we shall, in the Gandhian Spirit of Resistance, quietly walk out without ceremony! Did you say 'Yao!' to that?

APPENDIX I

GANDHI'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN WEST AFRICA

By

Anil Nauriya

Mahatma Gandhi (b. 1869) was shot dead in India on 30 January 1948. ''We too mourned his death'', wrote Kwame Nkrumah, ''for he had inspired us deeply with his political thought, notably with his adherence to non-violent resistance.''

[1] As one writer would put it : ''The message cabled by the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) on his death expressed the sentiments of all African nationalists, for whom Gandhi was the 'bearer of the torch of liberty of oppressed peoples' and whose life had been 'an inspiration to colonials everywhere'.''

[2] The Sierra Leone economist-poet David Carney who, as the West African poet Abioseh Davidson Nicol would recall, wrote ''poetry of a Miltonic grandeur'', resorted to verse: Carney's poetic tribute ''Gandhi'' was ''broadcast to millions'' in Africa and Asia.

[3] Carney, who died only recently, was Sierra Leone-born and had spent many years in Nigeria.

What contributed to the significant impact that Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns in South Africa and India had on West Africa?

A few facts are worth retelling.

At the end of August 1931 Gandhi had sailed from India for Europe to attend the Second Round Table Conference called in London by the British Government to discuss the future constitutional development of India. With Gandhi committed to Indian independence, and to full Egyptian independence, his commitment to all of Africa could be no less. While in London, Gandhi was asked on October 31, 1931: ''For some years Britain would continue certain subject territories like Gold Coast. Would Mr Gandhi object?''

''I would certainly object'', was Gandhi's reply. [4] He continued: ''India would certainly aspire after influencing British policy….. I do not want India to be an engine of oppression''. [5] He spoke on this occasion about the exploitation of Zulus and Swazis, which he described as ''radically wrong'' [6]

With Gandhi in 1931 having spoken against the colonial subjection of the Gold Coast, it was appropriate that Ghana was, after South Africa, among the first of the parts of Africa where Gandhian techniques were to be adopted. This was noted by a prominent Afro-Caribbean scholar statesman. [7]

Following upon the economic boycott of foreign cloth that Gandhi had encouraged and sponsored in India, he had been recommending the same course to other Asians and to Africans. He had declared in 1926: ''There is however no hope of avoiding the catastrophe'' (of increased racial bitterness) ''unless the spirit of exploitation that at present dominates the nations of the West is transmuted into that of real helpful

service, or unless the Asiatic and African races understand that they cannot be exploited without their co-operation, to a large extent voluntary, and thus understanding, withdraw such co-operation''. [8]

A most singular resort to the strategy indicated in Gandhi's 1926 article was soon to present itself. In West Africa Gandhi's influence had spread substantively. In 1935, four years after Gandhi had declared his support for a free Gold Coast, Gandhi's friend and biographer C F Andrews had spent time in Achimota College. Andrews' presence there had attracted significant attention.

Meanwhile, a crisis was brewing in the then Gold Coast related particularly to the cultivation and marketing of cocoa, a matter which directly affected the African farmer.

It presently came to a head. In 1937 the African-American press reported from London that ''Gold Coast Africans by declaring a boycott of British merchandise have caused a panic among London and Liverpool export merchants''; according to the report the boycotters ''had sparked the publicity by adopting the tactics of Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, paralyzing trade and disrupting the lucrative cocoa industry''.

[9] European monopolists controlled the cocoa export trade with West Africa, buying cheap and selling at high prices abroad and were believed to have formed a combine in 1937. Reacting to this, ''the chiefs and farmers unitedly took action by holding up cocoa and boycotting the retail stores of the firms connected with the pool. Not only the farmers and brokers and chiefs joined but there was unanimity of action ....''

[10] The cocoa strike was investigated by the Nowell Commission which found that it had been a mass movement, 'remarkable for its spontaneity and discipline over a wide area'; it remarked on its 'protracted duration' and described it as the 'first instance of unanimous popular action'.

[11] As a consequence of the movement, ''(t)he economic life of the Gold Coast was paralysed from October 1937 to April 1938''.

[12] Writing in Dr W E B DuBois' journal, George Padmore (Malcolm Nurse) related the tactics adopted in West Africa to Gandhi and his methods : ''Trouble has broken out in the Gold Coast. An agrarian strike has been declared. Thousands of cocoa farmers, incensed by the attempt on the part of the British monopoly trading companies and merchants to obtain their cocoa below its real value, are holding up their crops. Motor transport workers and dockers are refusing to handle the goods of foreign firms, while a nationwide boycott of British commodities has been proclaimed. ...The entire economic life of West Africa's richest colony is at a standstill.

Clashes have occurred between the people and the military.... (the) trouble began during the latter part of October, but the authorities are trying to prevent the news from getting abroad.

According to authentic reports reaching London, thousands of native cocoa producers of the Gold Coast and Ashanti have been holding meetings at Suhum, Nsawam, Kibi, Dodowah and other cocoa-producing districts, for the purpose of discussing ways and means of defending themselves against imperialist oppression....

The strike, coupled with the boycott, has drawn the entire country into action. The urban population, most of whom are related to the farmers, are also refusing to buy foreign goods. For the first time in the history of Africa, three million people have taken up the challenge against vested interest and have applied the economic strike weapon. This is symptomatic of the New Africa, which is gradually becoming conscious of its strength, and is learning to use Gandhi's well-known technique, the boycott, with effect."

[13] It was the African farmer's response to an elaborate economic stranglehold upon him which can be compared in some respects with the British trade in cotton and textiles with India in which Gandhi had so strikingly intervened.

According to a summary of Sir Ofori Atta's testimony before the Cocoa Commission in 1938, "….European merchants dictated the price at which the African farmer must sell his product, as well as fixed the price at which the farmers had to buy their merchandise; … irrespective of the quality of the cocoa, the farmer got a fixed price, since grading was done at a later stage; …. when the world price of cocoa rose, the merchants increased the price of some staple goods most in demand, so that the farmer was deprived of the benefit of the increase in the price of cocoa; … by controlling produce prices and the prices of trade goods, the European buyer-merchant had made the African farmer a virtual serf."

[14] It was not merely in the economic sphere that Gandhi's methods had influence. A few years later, in October 1945, the Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England between October 15-21, 1945 under inspiration from Dr W E B DuBois who was also personally present. George Padmore, the Trinidad-born activist, and Kwame Nkrumah, the future leader of Ghana, were the leading organisers. At the conference, the satyagraha methods of Mahatma Gandhi had been discussed and "endorsed as the only effective means of making alien rulers respect the wishes of an unarmed subject people".

[15] On January 8, 1950 the Convention People's Party (CPP) in the Gold Coast (later Ghana) "commenced Positive Action, a campaign of non-violent resistance modelled on Gandhian tactics".

[16] There was even a small sartorial symbolism that underlined a symbiotic connection: "CPP members out of prison sported P.G. (Prison Graduate) caps, which were the Gandhi caps of the Indian struggle with the letters P. G. added".

[17] Kwame Nkrumah himself took to wearing the cap. [18] The "caps of the Indian struggle" had themselves originated in the prison dress to which Gandhi and his companions had been familiarised in South Africa.

Other activists of the African diaspora, also committed to non-violent struggle and influenced by Gandhi's example, converged on Ghana in support of the movement. These included the African-Americans Bill Sutherland and Bayard Rustin. (George Padmore of the Pan-African Congress wrote on June 9, 1953 to his old Indian comrade, N G Ranga : " Do not be discouraged. Africa is on the march.

Nothing can hold the Africans back. We shall suffer many blows before achieving freedom, but now that they have learned the Gandhian technique of non-violent non-co-operation they have a mighty weapon

in their hands. I have discussed its application in the Gold Coast in my book 'The Gold Coast Revolution', a copy of which I have sent you. I hope the book will become a sort of text book to guide other African movements which have not yet reached the stage of the G.C. Already the British are trying to divide up Nigeria along the lines of India - on religion and communalism but we are fighting it tooth and nail. Thanks for the warning and example from India, we are prepared to meet the imperialist challenge."

[19] Ranga, along with Jomo Kenyatta and Dr Harold Moody, had founded the League of Coloured Peoples in England in the 1930s. Another scholar assessed the significance of the events set in motion in Ghana: "Nkrumah's declaration of Positive Action on January 8, 1950 was influenced by Mohandas Gandhi's non-violent revolution in India.

It constituted the first major political action in the history of the country. It was to bring to an end British colonial rule not only in Ghana, but also in the rest of Africa….The non-compromising non-violent Positive Action was also the second confrontation of this kind that the British government had to face after that of Gandhi in India years earlier."

[20] [21] Visiting Africa in 1952, the African-American Bayard Rustin, who had been much influenced by Gandhi's methods, found the continent "afire", with "every imaginable form of resistance being used to break 300 years of … European domination".

[22] In that year South Africa was boiling over with the Defiance campaign. Rustin met Nkrumah in Accra. And in Nigeria he met Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe ("Zik") near Lagos. Rustin and Dr Azikiwe, "an eager student of Gandhi's campaigns" discussed Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Later comparing Azikiwe and Nehru, Rustin recorded : "I have never met two men more alike than Zik and Nehru. Each is fiery and sensitive. Each has a world view. Each has the love of his people."

[23] The African-American added that "each respects the ideals of Gandhi and each is inwardly sorry he cannot see clearly to follow him all the way".

[24] Though diverse tactics would be available for adoption in West Africa as in other parts of Africa, Gandhi's struggle in South Africa and in India continued to inspire activists and thinkers in and from the continent. There were parts of West Africa where Gandhi struck a chord.

In the Ivory Coast Felix Houphouet-Boigny (1905?-1993), for example, regarded Gandhi as a source of inspiration and was himself spoken of as the "Gandhi of Africa".

[25] Houphouet-Boigny was associated with the Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI) and persuaded the French Constituent Assembly in 1946 to support legislation "to outlaw the forced labour system in all of France's colonies", a measure which ensured wide support for him among the people of West Africa.

[26] As colonial repression mounted in some parts of Africa, independence dawned in others. The Gold Coast having become the independent state of Ghana in 1957, the first conference of independent African states was organised in Accra in April 1958.

This was followed by the All African Peoples' Conference, also in Accra, in December 1958. A posthumously published work by Kwame Nkrumah reproduces the provisional agenda prepared for the confer-

ence: "The main purpose of the All-African Peoples' Conference to be held in Accra, Ghana, in December 1958, will be to formulate concrete plans and work out the Gandhian tactics and strategy of the African Non-violent Revolution…."

[27] According to one contemporary observer, the final resolution was a compromise between what was described as the Algerian point of view, which considered "violence to be one of the weapons used by subject peoples to achieve independence from colonialism" and other Africans who "wanted non-violence and the policies of Ghandi (sic)".

[28] Violence was always lurking around the corner. In a pamphlet first written and circulated in the forties, Nkrumah, mentioning the Jallianwala Bagh massacre by British-led troops in Amritsar (India) in 1919, had referred to colonial policy in Africa which "in 1929 mowed down by machine gun fire poor defenceless Nigerian women for peacefully and harmlessly protesting against excessive taxation, the counterpart of India's Amritsar."

[29] [30] On April 7, 1960, in the shadow of the Sharpeville incident in South Africa, Nkrumah addressed the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa. "The beginning of the year 1960", he said, "has seen the climax of ruthless and concerted outrages on the peace-loving people of our continent. The explosion of an atomic device in the Sahara by the French Government and the wanton massacre in the Union of South Africa of our brothers and sisters who were engaged in peaceful demonstrations against humiliating and repulsive laws of the South African Government are two eloquent events in this climax, a climax which is a sign post to the beginning of the end of foreign supremacy and domination in Africa."

[31] "Positive action has already achieved remarkable success in the liberation struggle of our continent and I feel sure that it can further save us from the perils of this atomic arrogance. If the direct action that was carried out by the international protest team were to be repeated on a mass scale, or simultaneously from various parts of Africa, the result could be as powerful and as successful as Gandhi's historic Salt March. We salute Mahatma Gandhi and we remember, in tribute to him, that it was in South Africa that his method of non-violence and non-cooperation was first practiced in the struggle against the vicious race discrimination that still plagues that unhappy country.

But now positive action with non-violence, as advocated by us, has found expression in South Africa in the defiance of the oppressive pass laws. This defiance continues in spite of the murder of unarmed men, women, and children by the South African Government. We are sure that the will of the majority will ultimately prevail, for no government can continue to impose its rule in face of the conscious defiance of the overwhelming masses of its people. There is no force, however impregnable, that a united and determined people cannot overcome."

[32] As late as the end of the sixties, the West African nationalist pioneer, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe wrote in the light of his own experience: "On Gandhi's teachings of satyagraha, history has proved Gandhi right."

[33] Dr Azikiwe understood a vital aspect of Gandhi's method: it did not consist in mere expression of love towards the opponent, as is

sometimes incorrectly assumed, but of a struggle to change the existing state of affairs. Dr Azikiwe elaborated: ''Those Indians who tried to love and co-operate with the alien Sahibs who ruled over them, and continued to do their work without seeking a political means of effecting a radical change in their status, had learned from experience that they were living in the clouds. Who but a fool would co-operate with evil or with his oppressor?''

[34] As Tom Mboya has noted, Gandhi's influence in Africa was felt across ''political or racial boundaries''.

[35] His impact, such as it was, appeared to cut across nations, races, linguistic areas and religions. Among his most ardent students, for example, were Nigeria's Aminu Kano and the leading Algerian intellectual and Islamic scholar, Malek Bennabi. A devout Muslim, Aminu Kano, according to his biographer, ''analysed Gandhi's success in lifting millions of Indians to a high level of dedication and endeavoured to adapt Gandhi's non-violent techniques to Northern Nigeria''.

[36] Kano came, at least according to one source, to be referred to as the ''Gandhi of Nigeria''

[37] . A progressive Muslim and Secretary of the Northern Elements Progressive Union, Aminu Kano took several initiatives for land and social reform, supporting peasants' co-operatives and advocating gender equality.

[38] The name of Aminu Kano came to be associated with high ideals and moral purpose. Underlining the ''importance to society of people like Aminu Kano or Mahatma Gandhi'', the West African litterateur, Chinua Achebe would write: ''Gandhi was real; Aminu Kano was real. They were not angels in heaven, they were human like the rest of us in India and Nigeria. Therefore, after their example, no one who reduces the high purpose of politics which they exemplified down to a swinish scramble can hope to do so without bringing a terrible judgement on himself.''

[39] There was another aspect of Gandhi – his strategy for national rejuvenation and reconstruction which often interested West Africans. In Cameroon, for example, intellectuals closely studied Gandhi's ideational resistance to colonialism. The influential journal Abbia, was guided by Bernard Nsokika Fonlon who was ''quite explicit'' in his ''resort to writings against imposed forms of education by Ireland's Padraic Pearse and India's Mohandas Gandhi, nationalist rebels who made those descents from elite to mass surroundings Fonlon called for and were respectively executed and jailed for their efforts''.

[40] ''Their resistance served Fonlon as models for Africa's leaders''.

[41] Gandhi's advocacy of African freedom led India in its support for freedom struggles in Africa. And with reconciliation stressed by Gandhi, most former British colonies opted to remain in the Commonwealth after independence. The extent to which Gandhian non-violent struggles came to draw upon the emphasis that Gandhi placed on a non-racialist construction of peoplehood, especially and expressly from May 1908 onwards (when he had spoken in Johannesburg looking forward to the day when ''all the different races commingle and produce a civilization that perhaps the world has not yet seen''

[42]), the influences which served to bring this about, and Gandhi's repercussions in West Africa remain a promising area for further extensive study.

[1] Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology, Heinemann, London, 1961, pp 2-3

[2] George H T Kimble, Tropical Africa, Volume 2: Society & Polity, Anchor Books, New York, 1962, p. 263

[3] Davidson Nicol, The Soft Pink Palms : On British West African Writers : An Essay, in Presence Africaine, Paris, June-November 1956, p.118

[4] Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (CW), Vol 48, p. 255

[5] Idem

[6] Idem

[7] Eric Williams, Gandhi : A Broadcast on the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of Mahatma Gandhi, P.N.M. Publishing Co., Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, n.d., p.4

[8] Young India, March 18, 1926, CW, Vol 30, pp. 135-136

[9] Penny M. Von Eschen, Race Against Empire : Black Americans and Anti-Colonialism 1937-1957, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1997, p.16 and p. 195n, citing "West Africa Uses Tactics of Gandhi : Natives Boycott British Goods to Register Dissatisfaction", Chicago Defender, October 18,1937

[10] Amba Prasad, The Nationalist Movement in Ghana, in Bisheshwar Prasad (ed.) Contemporary Africa, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960, p. 73

[11] Idem

[12] Idem

[13] George Padmore, Cocoa War on the Gold Coast, The Crisis, February 1938

[14] Kumar Ghoshal, People in Colonies, Sheridan House, New York, 1948, p. 137

[15] George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism?, Dobson, London, 1956, p. 177; see also Colin Legum, The Roots of Pan-Africanism, in Colin Legum (ed.) Africa Handbook, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Revised Edition, 1969, p. 550 and Guy Arnold, Africa : A Modern History, Atlantic Books, London, 2005, pp.11-12

[16] I. Wallerstein, The Road to Independence: Ghana and the Ivory Coast, Mouton & Co., Paris, 1964, p. 46

[17] Ibid., p. 73

[18] Elspeth Huxley, Four Guineas : A Journey Through West Africa, Chatto and Windus, London, 1954, p. 84

[19] N G Ranga, Agony and Solace : Correspondence, Statements, Speeches etc. 1936-1974, Kisan Publications, Nidubrolu, Andhra Pradesh (India), 1974, p. 293

[20] Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies : An African- Centred Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution, Routledge, New York, 2005, p. 101

[21] There is, especially in left-wing literature, a tendency towards disillusionment with Nkrumah's historic role, especially after his coming to power in Ghana. As against this, however, the Afro-Caribbean Marxist C L R James seems to have seen no reason to change his own high assessment of Nkrumah made in an article in 1964, going on to include the article in a work published thirteen years later. James had written : "The countries known as underdeveloped have produced the greatest statesmen of the twentieth century, men who have substantially altered the shape and direction of world civilisation in the last fifty years. They are four in number : Lenin, Gandhi, Mao Tse-tung and Nkrumah." (C L R James, Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution, Allison & Busby, London, 1977, p. 189)

[22] John De'Emilio, Lost Prophet : The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin, University of Chicago Press, 2003, pp. 184-185

[23] D'Emilio, op. cit., p. 185

[24] Idem

[25] K Madhu Panikkar, Revolution in Africa, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961, p. 10; see also Ali A Mazrui, Africa Between Gandhi and Nehru : An Afro-Asian Interaction, Africa Quarterly, Vol 39, No. 2, 1999, pp. 1-20, at p.1

[26] See Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., (eds.) Africana : The Encyclopedia of the African and African-American Experience, Basic Civitas Books, Perseus Books Group, New York, 1999, p.969

[27] Kwame Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path, International Publishers, New York, 1973, pp 132-133

[28] John Stonehouse, Prohibited Immigrant , The Bodley Head, London, 1960, p. 213

[29] Kwame Nkrumah, Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle against World Imperialism, Heinemann, London, 1962, p. 35

[30] For accounts of the Nigeria incident of 1929 see (i) Nina E Mba, Heroines of the Women's War, in Bolanle Awe (ed.) Nigerian Women in Historical Perspective, Sankore Publishers (Lagos) and Bookcraft (Ibadan), 1992, pp. 73-88 and (ii) Judith Van Allen, "Sitting on a Man" : Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of Igbo Women in Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher B Steiner (eds.) Perspectives on Africa : A Reader in Culture, History and Representation, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1997, pp. 536-549. Judith Van Allen writes : "On two occasions, clashes between the women and the troops left more than 50 women dead and 50 wounded from gunfire. The lives taken were those of women only – no men, Igbo or British, were even seriously injured". (Van Allen, op. cit., p. 543)

[31] Kwame Nkrumah , Positive Action in Africa, in James Duffy and Robert A Manners (ed.), Africa Speaks, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1961 p. 48

[32] Ibid. pp 50-51

[33] Nnamdi Azikiwe, My Odyssey: An Autobiography, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 274

[34] Idem

[35] Tom Mboya in Africa Quarterly, Vol II, No 2, July-September 1962, p. 76

[36] Alan Feinstein, African Revolutionary: The Life and Times of Nigeria's Aminu Kano, Davison Publishing House, Devizes, Wiltshire, 1973, pp. 143-144

[37] Idem

[38] Smith Hempstone, The New Africa, Faber & Faber, London, 1961, p. 605; see also Elspeth Huxley, Four Guineas: A Journey Through West Africa, Chatto & Windus, London, 1954, pp 237-238

APPENDIX II

FACEBOOK COMMENTS AND DEBATE ON ARTICLE

18 George Kanzoni, Ransford Fiti and 16 others

4 shares

Comments

Yaw Adu-Larbi We are seeing the emergence of an Ideological wave, that presents emotions as science and relegated true science to the background I now understand where the a historicity of these "Gandhimustgo" characters.

Like · Reply · 4 · 7 October at 17:25

Koame Armachie Excellent observation! I ask after the counter petition, couldn't the Gandhi must fall movement improve their argument? Could not they have given the audience some quotes from the forties? Why Was The need of Gandhi's description of Hitler as a friend. Did that connote racism? Why Was The audience not told what he requested Hitler to do but rather his description of Hitler?. I wasn't impressed!

Like · Reply · 3 · 7 October at 17:29

Kofi Afrika Ghandhi has in written form expressed that the aryan race is ranked first then Asians Indians the Africans or blacks are at the bottom of his ladder.i hope in our liberation struggle as Africans and followers of Garvey n Nkrumah those who in still inferiority complex in us cannot be our friends and need to be fought

Like · Reply · 1 · 7 October at 22:02

Yaw Adu-Larbi Kofi Afrika, let me ask you a direct question. Have you ever written or done ANYTHING fundamental in the past which you now feel or understand to untenable?

Like · Reply · 2 · 7 October at 23:20

Yaw Adu-Larbi *to be untenable?

Like · Reply · 8 October at 00:39

Write a reply...

Yaw Adu-Larbi I wonder whether the so-called libation pourers and their higher history spirits have any bibliography to match what LTKA Nubuor and Dr Aidoo have produced here. Where their pseudo - science fails them, they resort to stone-throwing destruction.

Like · Reply · 3 · 7 October at 19:11

Kojo Opoku Aidoo The presentations were pathetic, to say the least! The first paper lacked rigor and depth, was disjointed, and methodologically flawed. And, there was carelessness in the presentation of the facts. It was propaganda, by anybody's assessment. The presenter claimed to be talking about decolonizing the academia. Yet, there was no attempt at demonstrating the imperative of pluriversality to challenge the hegemony of western social science, thereby creating space for other epistemic systems. The presenter clearly wasn't versed in the emerging view of a social science to replace the social sciences on dialectical materialist foundations. The presentation was poor. The second presenter was worse! He poured libation, as Lang has mentioned. He settled on race as an analytical framework. It was hopeless. Decadent, even. In the end, a seminar intended to explore decolonisation of education became an exercise in absurdity, propaganda, and a debasement of the scientific theory!

Unlike · Reply · 4 · 7 October at 19:57

Yaw Adu-Larbi Kojo, you refer to the 'imperative of pluriversality' and the 'creation of space for other epistemic systems'. Can you expatiate on these as well as 'the emerging view of a social science to replace the social sciences based on dialectical materialist foundations'.

Like · Reply · 1 · 7 October at 20:18

Zaya Yeebo Ok. I have not attended the seminar. But I belong to the 'Ghandhi must Fall' group. My thoughts are clear. My pan African position is clear. I still pour libation to my ancestors. It is part of my cultural tradition as a Nabdam.

So what is the problem with pouring libation? And what has this to do with Ghandhi?

Like · Reply · 2 · 7 October at 20:19

Koame Armachie Zaya we have no problem with our traditional prayer! the problem is how a seminar on decolonising education being linked to Gandhi's statue falling turned to be pouring libation without any cogent argument or new argument vis a vis the argument of the must stand people, and denying them opportunity to question you. It became exercise in futility!

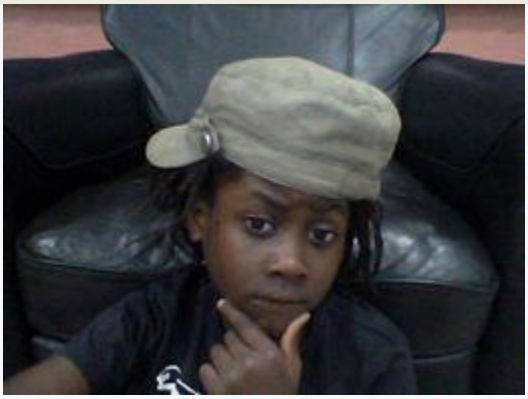
Like · Reply · 3 · 7 October at 20:29

Write a reply...

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Yaw Adu-Larbi, I will revert to you soon. Zaya Yeebo, nobody has anything against libation. We all have it in our cultural traditions. But, it certainly doesn't make sense for a speaker at a seminar on the rubric 'decolonizing education' to begin to pour libation. It's ridiculous as it is most strange. People kept laughing at it. What has that got to do with Gandhi? The very reason for which you say "But I belong to the Gandhi must fall' at the beginning of your post!

Unlike · Reply · 2 · 7 October at 20:27

Raswad Nkrabea I agree with you comrade Zaya!! but I support Gandhi must stay!! and that the bigger mind control white racist agenda through the white Jesus images all over Ghana must rather go!!! I will also ask the same question....what is wrong if Dr. Kambon chooses to communication a part of his message through his culture and spirituality as well? This world is made up of material and spirit! We fail to understand that the principle of Dialectical materialism is also built on a spiritual foundation just as the laws of Karma. They are both inter related and cannot be separated. Maybe if there were tolerance and no prejudice against pouring libation, one would rather see the message and information in the act of pouring libation. We often understand life realities and perplexities from the limited western miseducation that some of our scholars received. Which keeps us ignorant of daily acts of synergy of scientific and spiritual realities manifesting in-front of our eyes.



Like · Reply · 4 · 7 October at 21:14

Kofi Afrika Ghandhi was racist and he even put the African or Blackman at the bottom of the ladder.he is not that relevant in our struggle and do we think that all the liberation struggle was won based on nonviolent struggle to power?then we can condemn the violent revolutionary struggle in Africa.lets not be blind folks

Like · Reply · 8 October at 07:03

Write a reply...

Kofi Afrika The girl who showed an outburst of the libation could be doing that from non scientific basis but rather from a religious perspective it is an institution of African studies and what I know is libations is part of the African culture.comrade Nubour what will you say abt Ghana pouring libation @independent day celebration will you say look look what has Ghana turn into.by the way are you aware the witches don't like libation pouring.u cant be evil and keep pouring libation you will be destroyed.#Ghandimustfall.Comrade Nubour realise that the institute of African studies is not an institute of political science#Ghandimustfall

Like · Reply · 1 · 7 October at 21:27

Kofi Afrika Kojo if you have nothing against libation pouring then why do you criticize the speaker pouring libation live him to practice this African culture if you criticize that as a speaker he should not pour libation then you are against the practice.

Like · Reply · 2 · 7 October at 21:33

Kofi Afrika In Africa religion like witchcrafts and witchcraft metamorphorize into Christianity don't like libation and to be pouring libation one must nt think evil at all u must be pure.

Like · Reply · 1 · 7 October at 21:36

Kofi Afrika Comrade Nubour is using the libation bit to whip up anti Ghandi must fall movement thinking that the great majority of Ghanaians belong to religious groupings who dislike libation and would help support his Ghandi must stand movement comrade nubour we are not blind we are seeing you.

Like · Reply · 7 October at 21:40

Yaw Adu-Larbi Knowing that a university like Legon thrives on its secular nature, why did they bring libation into equation? Other religions do not precede seminars with prayers, or do they.....? This us what happens when scientific enquiry is reduced to the shambles we now have on campus.

Like · Reply · 1 · 7 October at 21:46

Lang Nubuor Yaw Adu-Larbi, The libation did not precede the 'seminar' in the normal way.

Dr. Kambon's presentation was ENTIRELY one of libation pouring. He used his allotted 15 minutes as a libation pouring ceremony whereby Black African heroes and heroines were eulogised while all Whites like Einstein and Marx were denigrated.

For each Black African eulogised water was poured. For each White mentioned water was verbally denied.

So the former lady student's point was that a time might come when for each Black African hero or heroine there would be 'speaking in tongues' (a Christian practice) during the presentation at a SEMINAR. Alabalabalaba Kunakakunakuna might be used in eulogies.

Certainly, the performance would have been appreciated as part of an opera or drama performance. But for a scientific seminar it was all out of order!

The danger is that a lecturer might later find it appropriate to go to the lecture hall with a calabash delivering lectures in the Kambonian format of libation pouring and speaking in tongues.

This possibility must be nipped in the bud! Let's be serious!

Like · Reply · 3 · 25 mins · Edited

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Lang Nubuor, you go kill me ooo - did you say 'Alabalabalaba Kunakakunakuna'? OMG, my ribs!

Unlike · Reply · 2 · 8 October at 19:08

Kofi Afrika Libation pouring is not a religion is a way of life

Like · Reply · 8 October at 19:16

Tweneboah Senzu Could Kambon or whoever he call himself tell us he is more traditionalist and know our gods more than we, who stay with them.

Does he know the science behind the linguistic chanting of our priest to invoke the gods to their biding. The guy came to joke and again making mockery of our traditional incantation which he has to be careful. Spiritual matters are not for jokes and our god's do not tolerate this kind of ignorance. Does he think we pour libation by wearing shoes? Does he think we pour libation by standing straight forward like what he did. He know nothing, I am a development Chief of Asenda, if the current Chief is to pass away God forbid, I am to be enstooled. Do not attempt a paths you are ignorant of off.

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 October at 19:45 · Edited

Eric Amegashie Kofi Africa , its not our way of life, its a sacred culture

Like · Reply · 8 October at 19:59

Paul Kelly I'm back again Lang Nubuor,

This whole debate seems ridiculous to me. The people who desire the downfall of Gandhi's statue for being a racist, also seem to be exhibiting racism themselves.

Whilst I have no problem with anyone pouring libation, I personally think the setting was inappropriate.

But if their intention for pouring the libation was to send a message of "Back To Our Roots," intellectually even without scientific grounding, it's well understood.

That notwithstanding, showing images of white men like Karl Max and Einstein, including Gandhi as evils, is a clear sign of racism against white people and Indians, which should not be encouraged among our people. Telling your people the reality about themselves or their history, doesn't have to come with lessons of hatred towards others.

Again, thinking about the past only at neglect of the present and the future, will not also be in our best interest. Looking to future, we need to not only eradicate negative attitude towards Indians or other nations, but to also actively encourage a positive attitude which will help in building peace and stability across the world.

The "Gandhi Must Fall" need to think again!

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 October at 20:11

Write a reply...

Koame Armachie Kofi were you there? If no, have you watch the video? Would you call that an intellectual exercise?

Like · Reply · 7 October at 21:48

Kofi Afrika How much is this Ghandi must stand thing worth in rupees is not relevant in that non violence was not used in all the African liberation struggle and Nkrumah mentioning it was just to superficially say something like you walking in town Ghana or India and you give two rupees to a pour or someone who badly needs it and he or she response.thank you you are a good man.it can be true or false first time impression and comrade see it that way Nkrumah wanted to say something.by the way#Gandhimustfall.

Like · Reply · 7 October at 21:50

Paul Kelly I couldn't attend the seminar, but I fully support Lang Nubuor and the whole team of "Gandhi Must Stand." My support is purely based on Gandhi's personality, and what he stood for.

However, on the issue of pouring libation, I choose to disagree here. My forefathers rejected physical slavery and fought hard to regain their freedom. If the oppressor decides to resort to mental slavery, it's my responsibility to not only reject it, but to also fight hard to eliminate it.

So I will only be surprised if our Afrikans historians seems to be embracing Western influence at the expense of our traditional values.

With all that Gandhi must stand!!!!!

Like · Reply · 4 · 7 October at 21:54

Hide 45 Replies

Lang Nubuor Paul, thanks for your comments.

Permit me to explain, however, that the issue in reference is not the sheer use of libation or its preference in favour or rejection of Christian (Western) values or practice. It is the resort to mystical practices that is in question. That was why the former lady student was quoted as pointedly objecting that the practice of religious mysticism might later develop into allowing 'speaking in tongues', which is a CHRISTIAN practice, at seminars which are SCIENTIFIC platforms.

The reference has nothing to do with CHOOSING between Western/Christian and traditional African religious values and practices. It has everything to do with RELIGIOUS usages in SCIENTIFIC practice.

Will academia in Africa rationally, one day, formally introduce 'speaking in tongues' as a method of research and presentation in African universities? Will that advance scientific research and understanding of the environment if introduced?

Paul, my reading and study of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's 'Consciencism' portray to me a desire to trace historically how scientific methods of research are increasingly being developed and should be developed across the world in replacement of religious metaphysical practice.

Dr. Nkrumah's speech during the inauguration of the Institute of African Studies expresses this desire for CONTINUED scientific pursuits in the unravelling of the African past. Dr. Nkrumah was specifically unhappy with the Western abandonment of strict scientific methods in telling the story of the African in projection of the authentic African Personality after the emergence of capitalism when the concept of 'races' came into usage.

This creeping introduction of the methods of mysticism, whether from African traditional or Western sources, into the pursuit of scientific practice at the Institute compromises the scientific motivations for its establishment.

On our part, we would prefer that Prof. Akosua A. Ampofo and Dr. Ọbádélé Kambon formally explain to the Institute and the African continent at large why they should now adopt MYSTICAL methods in the presentation of African history and practice in abandonment of scientific methods.

If their reasons are rationally persuasive then their resort to this backwardness may be formally adopted to enhance the current increasing rot in African epistemological practices.

For now, we fail to see any reason whatsoever for abandoning the scientific foundations upon which the Institute was built and established.

Paul, I hope you now appreciate where we are coming from.

Those who prefer to dabble in African or Western mysticism to explain the African condition have the support of our neo-colonial condition of apparent hopelessness to do that.

But, let's not abandon the alternative scientific foundations upon which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah built and established the Institute of African Studies (IAS)!

Akpe.

Like · Reply · 4 · 8 October at 19:12 · Edited

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Lang Speaks! Perceptive! ! !

Like · Reply · 8 October at 08:00

Kofi Afrika What makes the art of pouring libations not a science lets not keep branding things like this is science or not but rather accept the fact that the scientific methods currently cannot be use to determine some practices of the Africans.#.Ghanhimustcomedown

Like · Reply · 8 October at 08:11

Raswad Nkrabea Comrades, we are still missing the point of why Dr Kambon would choose to communicate a part of his message by pouring libation. Nobody is trying to OVERSTAND the scientific principle behind pouring libation because of our limited knowledge of spirituality and its relationship with science. Our western miseducation have blinded us from having a peripheral view of life. Let's share some FOOD FOR THOUGHT with Kristen Allis Urffer and 14 others.

February 23, 2013

Scientific Spirituality: The Religion of the Future

The universe comes out of the union of two fundamental forces: matter (jada, or 'that which gives shape') and consciousness (chetan). These are also respectively known as prakrati (the manifested form) and purusha (the invisible enlivening spirit). Both have their own merits when considered in isolation; however, it is the union and co-operation of these two entities that works wonders. The human body is a very good example of this fact. Our body is made up of five basic elements -the panca tatvas.

The body is an integrated form of various organs, muscles, nerves, arteries, veins etc., and can be used to accomplish any desired work but is non-functional without consciousness. The consciousness part of man (termed "the soul") thinks, decides and directs organs towards a particular task. The separation of consciousness from matter results in death. A dead body is useless since it is not functional. In the absence of consciousness, it rapidly decays and its constituting elements eventually dissolve into their cosmic states.

In essence, it is the association of matter and consciousness that gives rise to functionality. Matter alone, otherwise, is unorganised and of very little use even though it is present in abundance in the universe. For example, water is plentiful in oceans but is too salty. The atmosphere is full of gases, electromagnetic rays, X-rays etc. but these components are not useful on their own. It is the human intervention, or alternatively the intervention of developed consciousness, that organises matter so as to make it useful. For example, man has developed methods to process water to make it fit for human consumption. Fire and electricity were present in the universe since times immemorial, but man's intelligence organised these entities in a utilisable form.

Thus, although the components of Nature are powerful in their own right, their usefulness has depended on the inventive skills of human consciousness. Science and spirituality: The discovery of the powers of Nature, their organisation and the skills that make them useful to man is called science. Science can thus be called the unison of matter and consciousness. Science has made possible the progress of the human civilisation. It should be noted that the knowledge of the use of matter is not enough; its righteous use should also be considered. The same criterion also applies to consciousness. In the absence of their righteous use, matter and consciousness are open to be abused.

The attraction of immediate gains is such that its long-term effects are not appreciated and this short-sighted judgement prompts man to misuse power. Ultimately, he creates a web in which he gets trapped, just like a fish caught in a net. This results in suffering, public anger and self-destruction, and yet it is a practice generally adopted by most people. The society and the government rarely succeed in preventing such practices Science can be legitimately credited for the current progress and prosperity, but it is incapable of differentiating between use and abuse. The only way to control its misuse is to incorporate wisdom based on foresightedness and the nobilities associated with human glory. This is the essence of spirituality. Spirituality means, "centred and established on the soul", that is, activities in life are designed keeping the awakening of the soul as the aim. The soul is the individualized consciousness present in the human body.

Consciousness is more powerful than matter. As discussed earlier, it is the miracle of consciousness that organises matter in an orderly way. However, unrestrained consciousness has drawbacks too. For example, it is easy to find faults in others, but does anyone try to observe his own self for their own faults? Usually, an individual is biased towards his shortcomings and considers him self the best. A person trying to prove him self right will present several arguments in his favour. This distorts the reality and generates undesirable thoughts.

The dual accomplishment of the righteous use of science and the refinement of consciousness is possible only through spirituality.

The great divide:

Since the 17th century, when modern science made its first appearance, it has clashed with religion/spirituality. At the root of the clash lie two streams of beliefs. Science believes everything is made up of matter and therefore ought to be demonstrable through experiments.

A spiritualist insists that pure Spirit is reality, not matter. The great Indian seer-sage Sri Aurobindo has termed the scientific viewpoint as "the materialist denial" and the spiritual viewpoint as "the refusal of the ascetic" in his magnum opus The Life Divine. Discussing these issues further, Sri Aurobindo says the premise of science is that the physical senses are our only means of obtaining knowledge. Therefore, reason cannot transcend the reach of the senses and so, says Sri Aurobindo, "it must deal always and solely with the facts which they [the senses] provide or suggest."2 Science says that we cannot go beyond our senses and cannot use them "as a bridge leading us into a domain where more powerful and less limited faculties come into play…"3 In other words, science denies the existence of anything that is supernatural, supraphysical or extrasensory. In doing so, science assumes Nature to be an unintelligent substance or energy and uses this excuse to refuse, in the words of Sri Aurobindo, "to extend the limits of inquiry". However, science has come to a stage where prominent scientists accept that there are several phenomena, backed by compelling evidences, which cannot be explained by the current formulations of scientific theories and laws, but only by the presence of an unthinkable, omniscient Intelligence. Examples include: the behaviour of Earth as a single living organism, telepathy, precognition, the presence of a Universal Mind, etc.

Sri Aurobindo says the spiritualist believes that pure Spirit is a reality because there are supraphysical realities that are beyond the grasp of the senses, based on principles other than those that govern gross matter. Therefore, it is not justifiable to reject them as "false positives". For a spiritualist, consciousness is the unifying factor in the universe, which Sri Aurobindo calls "the universal witness for whom the world is a field", while "the senses are [its] mere instruments". The spiritualist considers the material universe as unreal. What are the consequences of these two streams of beliefs? Both are seriously flawed, according to Sri Aurobindo. A mixture of matter and consciousness gives a meaningful functionality. If we adopt a purely materialistic view, Sri Aurobido says we arrive at a māyā "that is [present] and yet is not [present]". We see the physical aspects of the universe and so māyā is present and compelling, leading us to believe what we see is the only reality. Yet, māyā "is not", because it is transitory. Transformation is the principle of the universe. On the other hand, the refusal of material existence leads, in Sri Aurobindo's view, to the development of ego and the purposelessness of the human existence.

In the modern times, the conflict between science and spirituality has further deepened. They have become two separate streams in practice. Both are in a muddled state of affairs and each falsely believes to be complete in its own right. As a result the worldview has become fragmented and has led to manifold problems, a view endorsed by modern thinkers. Eminent physicist David Bohm explains this extremely well in his book Wholeness and the Implicate Order. He says that everything is treated as separate, rather than as a part of "something bigger and wider"; thus we have separate religions, separate sci-

ences, separate subjects, separate nations, separate societies, separate families etc. And how does this view act as a precursor to problems?

Bohm provides a simple answer:

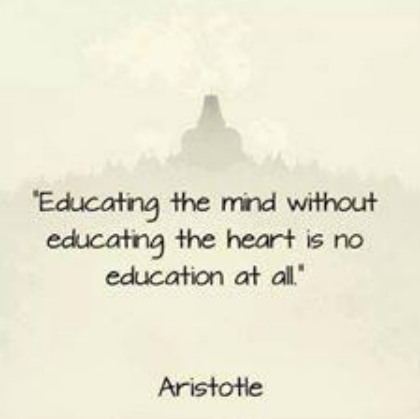
"The notion that all these fragments are separately existent is evidently an illusion, and this illusion cannot do other than lead to endless conflict and confusion. Indeed, the attempt to live according to the notion that the fragments are really separate is, in essence, what has led to the growing series of extremely urgent crises that is confronting us today. Thus, as is now well known, this way of life has brought about pollution, destruction of the balance of nature, over-population, world-wide economic and political disorder, and the creation of an overall environment that is neither physically nor mentally healthy for most of the people to live in."4

In his best-selling book The Tao of Physics, physicist Fritjof Capra says: "Our tendency to divide the perceived world into individual and separate things and to experience ourselves as isolated egos in this world is seen as an illusion [in the East] which comes from our measuring and categorising mentality."5

Mankind has enormously suffered this conflict between science and spirituality. A person cannot ride a bicycle if one of its wheels is missing. Time has now come for both science and spirituality to widen their thinking horizons and realise the importance of their alliance, since the future of mankind rests on their combined insight and wisdom. How could this be achieved? Sri Aurobindo provides an answer. He says:

"Only by an extension of the field of our consciousness or an unhoped-for increase in our instruments of knowledge can this ancient quarrel be decided."6

One of the aims of the "Yug Nirman mission" is to integrate science and spirituality, which is being attempted at its research wing, Brahmavarchas Research Centre at Haridwar (India). The results of experiments on this front show that spirituality has a sound scientific basis and spiritual principles practiced in daily life yield extraordinary benefits. Further research on this theme will be carried out at the newly founded Dev Sanskrati Vishwavidyalaya (Divine Culture University)7at Hardwar.



Like · Reply · 6 · 8 October at 09:35 · Edited

Raswad Nkrabea I STILL SAY GANDHI MUST STAY! AND OUR EFFORTS SHOULD RATHER BE FOCUSED ON THE WHITE IMAGES OF JESUS AND HIS DISCIPLES WITH HIS FALSE DOCTRINE THAT IS LIKE A CANCER ALL OVER GHANA.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 09:34

Lang Nubuor Raswad Nkrabea , Thanks, Sir. You've raised an issue that may not be relevant to the present discourse. But, I can assure you that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was addressing that issue in his Conakry Years. The Indian writers you cited are also making an effort to address it. Dr. Nkrumah pursues it in a more profound manner. Check June Milne's 'Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years'. You'll find how he tries to resolve the matter/spirituality dichotomy by making spirituality a material reality. He bases it on African conceptions of reality from a dialectical materialist perspective. We'll discuss this deeply on an appropriate platform. To borrow from you, I say 'Respects!'

Like · Reply · 7 · 8 October at 20:18

Amusu Kwaggrey It is all a huge confusion. If not, why still the hue and cry about Gandhi's statue whilst there are so many pressing problems in Ghana that demand urgent and close attention? What took place at the Institute of African Studies was an opprobrium not only to Ghana but to the academic and the intelligentsia. The way and manner that seminar was conducted and the issues it raised, which continue to generate reactions and counter-reactions, has left much to be desired. But all in all, I smell a partisan conspiracy - an extension of the 24th February 1966 incident.

Unlike · Reply · 5 · 20 hrs

Lang Nubuor Comrade Amusu Kwaggrey, You are right.

The February 24 Conspiracy to economically re-orient the direction of Ghana's and Africa's socio-economic and political development under the banner of the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah continues.

In this respect, we need to inculcate into the younger generations and the general populace the Spirit of Resistance. That requires, as our great forebears did, the study of the various methods of Resistance.

On the face of it, it might appear that the current struggle - not just a debate - over Gandhi's statue is a diversion from the pressing problems of our immediate condition of capitalist neo-colonial rot.

In reality, it is a struggle for the retention of the neo-colonial system and a struggle against such retention.

Whereas the former struggle seeks to deflate the Spirit of Resistance against the capitalist neo-colonial system through the destruction of the historical symbols of Resistance, the latter seeks to inflate that Spirit of Resistance through the erection of such symbols within the framework of democratic engagement.

This could be observed in the composition of the GandhiMustComeDown Movement and the GandhiMustStand Movement, respectively. While the former is made up of anti-socialist and anti-Marxist forces of neo-colonialism, the latter is made up of a coalition of Marxist-Nkrumaist, socialist and nationalist forces poised against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The surface of things could be quite deceptive. Tracking down their internal dynamics and motivations explodes the cover.

Thus, the struggles afoot are part of the concrete dynamics to resolve the contradictions embedded in the concrete problems of our immediate neo-colonial existence. Hence, these struggles are not, again, a diversion from our pressing problems but a reflection of them.

And they must be waged to their logical conclusion in such a way that the ultimate outcome takes root in our African body polity to free Africa from the web of imperialist and neo-colonial control and exploitation.

Some Comrades are yet to appreciate these concrete dynamics and tend to suggest that the current struggles, which they seem to see in terms of mere academic debates, are a diversion, for instance, from issues like the stealing of African intellectual property.

No, Comrades, with all due respect, the struggle against such theft of African intellectual and material resources is embedded in the current struggles of the GandhiMustStand Movement.

Sure, Gandhi, an international symbol and inspirer of Resistance against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, must definitely stand on the soil of Africa as on all other continents where imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism rule!

Delivered heretofore in the Spirit of Resistance for an Africa free of capitalist imperialist and neo-colonialist domination.

Like · Reply · 3 · 15 hrs · Edited

Rassool Snyman Paul what exactly did Gandhi stand for which is the crux of this discussion?

Like · Reply · 15 hrs · Edited

Paul Kelly Amusu Kwaggery, you are absolutely right!! That is exactly the truth. Others may choose to disagree, but there is a psychological warfare. A great conspiracy. No doubt about that, I stand with you.

Like · Reply · 1 · 15 hrs · Edited

Rassool Snyman Ghandi could be seen as a counterrevolutionary force and reformer than a revolutionary and could be the a means of disarming those who need to embark on armed struggle - should the Mau Mau have adopted Gandhian methodologies and engage in amelioration of oppression rather than its overthrow?

Like · Reply · 2 · 15 hrs

Yaw Adu-Larbi If you ask me, it was the hallmark

Like · Reply · 15 hrs

Yaw Adu-Larbi Sorry, if you ask me the hallmark of British colonialism was its ability to turn potentially revolutionary situations into "managed" transitions to "independence". In Kenya, they managed to isolate the liberation movement's true leaders in favour of those that had imbibed British culture to the point of immeasurable, such that the fruits of puppet leadership were more than tempting. I don't know much about the Indian experience other than to say that the independence movement was at risk being fragmented beyond recognition if the idea of political independence had not been accepted, what with the various feudal lords, ethnic fiefdom that had been compelled by the force of the movement to fall in line, even if it was for the limited objective of willing independence. Taking on the caste system would have been asking too much of the independence movement at the time. The Congress Party, by its objectives and composition was a reformist party and not a revolutionary one, so asking for the fundamental and revolutionary thrust of overthrowing capitalism and imperialism in India would have been a defeatist move.

Like · Reply · 2 · 15 hrs

Yaw Adu-Larbi In South Africa, it was the fear of the emergence of a revolutionary movement that got them to prevail on the apartheid system to release Nelson Mandela from prison. They were aware of his mass appeal and sought to instrumentalise it to derail the revolutionary movement. They succeeded

and got the right-wing in the ANC to accept to play ball by dangling before them some "low hanging fruit" of reforms which for sometime has mildened the century long effects of the worst crime against humanity. Over 200 multi-national corporations prevailed on the neophyte ANC government to accept the Bretton Woods agreements as a basis for "change" in South Africa. What we have now is no real change in terms of a fundamental and qualititative change in governance and socio-economic transformation that is inclusive of ALL in South Africa. Again, I can see the hand of British inspired counterinsurgency methods of derailing the revolutionary movement.

Like · Reply · 2 · 14 hrs

Kwasi Gyan-Apenteng GANDHI MUST STAND!

Like · Reply · 1 · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman Ghandi must fall

Like · Reply · 1 · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman as an idol, handmaiden and creation of imperialism]

Like · Reply · 14 hrs · Edited

Yaw Adu-Larbi I however think that Ghandi must stand. Yes, he couldn't abolish the caste system but his lifestyle and political actions showed clearly that he was departing from it, something that angered the Hindu nationalists who rejoiced at his assassination by one of their own. That said, the instrumentalisation of his stature by the Indian Hindu nationalist government is really appalling.

Like · Reply · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman Yaw if we agree whichever way it reflects our own politics; reform or revolution

Like · Reply · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman the two are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable

Like · Reply · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman the people who would have the best opinion are the oppressed themselves as they are the victims of the pain on a day to day basis

Like · Reply · 1 · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman we cannot from the outside praise the an and erect statues for him when the very people on whom the myth is built are still in chains. I can credit Ambedkar more that Gandhi on struggling for freedom for the Dalits as opposed to Gandhi as he brought legislative change that allowed them to get things like education which the wouldnt have gotten under Gandhi who catered to his merchant class and feared antagonising them whilst Ambedkar struggled for their complete emancipation and liberation - if a statue is to be erected for gandhi then one should also be arected for Ambedkar

Like · Reply · 1 · 14 hrs

Yaw Adu-Larbi The statue of Ghandi should not exclude one for Ambedkar. They form complementary parts of a mass movement.

Like · Reply · 14 hrs

Lang Nubuor Comrade Rassool Snyman, There is a contrast between 'systemic reform', which leaves the system intact, and 'revolutionary reform' which is aimed at changing the system for its ultimate replacement. Every Revolution is preceded by a process of revolutionary reforms pursued by the masses and their intellectual segments. No Revolution is a High Jump over its antecedent revolutionary reforms.

Like · Reply · 1 · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman Cde Lang its the principle that define the action; what did the oppressed feel and how did that impact on them - justice delayed is no justice at all - SA used the same rationale and we are still under the heel of the oppressors and i lean towards Frantz Fanon who said "revolution cleanses"

Like · Reply · 1 · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman How long should the oppressed remain in chains and who decides for them - i disagree with the philosophy of non violence as an end in

itself especially when the oppressor is armed and enforces his will through violence.

Like · Reply · 1 · 14 hrs · Edited

Rassool Snyman by deciding on one we , by default deny the other

Like · Reply · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman the whole Gandhian thrust was against the British but kept in place the internal oppression this was a train of tears within a train of tears and it did not make sense from a principle position to liberate the upper classes but leave the lower classes at the mercy of the upper classes - if we agree then we endorse class/caste oppression and class based violence - the naked and brutal violence against the Dalit is not only social its structural and has far reaching implications for example is a Brahim rapes a Dalit woman they kill the woman - if a Dalit drinks from a well of the Brahmin they kill that Dalit if a Dalit;s shadow falls on a Brahmin the Brahmin had the right to kill the Dalit - no Gandhi protected his own class this as he paid lip service to the Dalits and patronised them - Gandhi must fall

Like · Reply · 13 hrs · Edited

Lang Nubuor The problem is when we fail to recognise that a revolution is not a process of perpetual violence. Violence in a revolutionary process is a relatively brief occurrence in defence against reactionary violence. Revolution is defined not in terms of the possible level of violence used to defend it but in terms of its impact in replacing one social essence with a new essence.

Like · Reply · 14 hrs

Rassool Snyman Cde Lang the same rationale was used in SA and we are still in chains - either one has a revolution or not - how it unfolds is another question. For me i want to address the principle of freedom, the right to revolt and whether from the point of the oppressed which is the better alternative

Like · Reply · 1 · 13 hrs · Edited

Rassool Snyman i will use the SA scenario as i know it first hand - many liberals spoke against the oppression of the masses but it was only when we took to armed struggle that things changed

Like · Reply · 13 hrs · Edited

Lang Nubuor It appears that the class dynamics in the liberation struggle in Africa, in general, and South Africa, in particular, have not been properly appreciated. Such appreciation must explain to all how the petite-bourgeois leadership came to assume dominance to the detriment of the working people. Cries of 'betrayal' are the mark of such lack of appreciation of the class dynamics.

Like · Reply · 13 hrs

Rassool Snyman however one must take cognizance of the fat that the ANC used the reformist approach and used the two stage revolution theory which was never actualised and our people live in grinding poverty this within shanty towns as the resources are extracted by the same colonial powers who were in place before our struggle. What really changed? The only change was that the masses got a vote and the elites shared in the proceeds of the ongoing oppression and plunder. In India the same scenario played out; the upper classes still retained power and the Dalits were enslaved by the same upper classes who demanded freedom for themselves yet denied it to others. this is the dichotomy of select freedom and revolution in stages or segments - either it happens in its totality or not therefore i lean to Fanon on revolution

Like · Reply · 1 · 13 hrs · Edited

Lang Nubuor Hahahaaa! Comrade Rassool, a revolution is a long drawn out process but not an event with a particular date. When we say that the 'American Revolution' or the 'French Revolution' occurred on this particular day, it seems to me that we are in reference to the day when a relatively brief period of violence crowned a long period of the development of a new system within and alongside the old system and saw the new forces in victory over the reactionary forces. We are not talking about an event of that day but the formal ending of the old.

Like · Reply · 1 · 13 hrs

Rassool Snyman i agree that revolution is a process that is never an event however the principle of revolution must be applied the process happens on its own subject to other dynamics and it is that light that i say Gandhi never addressed the principle of a genuine liberation for all equally but liberation for a select few who kept intact their oppression of others

Like · Reply · 1 · 13 hrs

Eric Amegashie Brother Rassool Snyman, a Revolution is not a one size fit all, therefore I find your lack of uncompromising attitude very interesting. Revolutionary struggle have been waged longer than you might, think , hopefully you are aware of the past and present on-going struggle. Armed struggle in the Congo, the great Che ready to assist , he was let down, or failed , for the ego of the imperialist, I must mention that, however there have been charged of government led by unarmed civilians , some violence, but not from or by the people , they succeed. Your attitude of being a hardliner, thus not serve any purpose, , but doom, you are too sensitive to be reasonable, calm down your and learn to be level headed, you don't scare me a bit, it's just unfortunate people of your thinking means well for the struggle

Like · Reply · 13 hrs

Lang Nubuor Thanks. With that agreement on a revolution being a process we can later work out the details of how to initiate that process in African conditions to ensure that the petite-bourgeoisie is this time overwhelmed by the masses who will exercise the State Power that they have created for themselves. By the way, can we have a new poem from you to celebrate this initial agreement? Lol! Bye, Comrade.

Like · Reply · 1 · 13 hrs

Rassool Snyman Cde Eric read my argument and not guage and tag my emotional state nor use labels or its not debate it becomes slanging which i dislike and hold in contempt. My argument is that Gandhi never went into a revolution but rather the freedom of one segment of society to which he belonged and thus was an endorsement of one form of oppression whilst decrying another which is hypocritical and serving only the merchant class and Brahmins\

Like · Reply · 13 hrs

Rassool Snyman hahahaha Cde Lang Nubuor i will have to look in my bags of poems

Like · Reply · 1 · 13 hrs

Lang Nubuor No! Create a new one. Hahahaaa!

Like · Reply · 1 · 13 hrs

Eric Amegashie Rassool, you have now acknowledge that a Revolution is a process, how sweet , why then do South Africans including you think MAN-

DELA was a sell-out because he negotiated for political freedom as and not Economic freedom, go and kiss his feet , if he had done so , South Africa will be worse than Nigeria and Ghana

Like · Reply · 1 · 12 hrs

Rassool Snyman Eric only the gods would know and you seem to assume to be one of them sir - let me leave you at this point as this seems to lean towards degeneration

Like · Reply · 12 hrs · Edited

Eric Amegashie I hear you my brother, it's all about the process, so glad you have been introduced to Lang your new found intellectual friend, keep it up with an open mindedness

Like · Reply · 1 · 12 hrs

Eric Amegashie That's my opinion!! Work on the process, it's a long road to travel

Like · Reply · 1 · 12 hrs

Tweneboah Senzu It a long road, with its own dynamics, experiences and facet of warfare opposing the effort of the revolutionalist.

If the ultimate goal of revolution not define in phases with setup time frames and methods appropriate for a particular phase to be adopted with it unique skills, instead the soldiers compound the whole processes as a one body journey to arrive at the destination, It kind of impossible hence resulting in circumnavigation and conflict of methods opposing each other.

The hallmark of current revolutionalist. Always lost in the game. Conflict of operation get them tired in the wilderness before the surfacing of the enemy attacks amounting to a total defeat.

Only for the process to be re-born again by new generation.

Unlike · Reply · 3 · 10 hrs · Edited

Write a reply...

Johnson Tunu Paul Kelly is right: what Gandhi stood for, and his personality. These two aspects of this dignitary are towering features worth emulating: being extremely modest and very self-critical, the latter to such an extent as to be gravitating constantly towards positions of more and more justice. This trait in him of siding with justice led to his assassination by his own fellow Hindu of non- compromising emotionalism, of the types we're increasingly seeing around everywhere these days, unfortunately!

Like · Reply · 3 · 8 October at 02:16

Kofi Afrika Are you aware that Ghandi starved himself from food most of the time and when did you start emulating him or is like u want to play with words too because it has come from your head.hope you start starving yourself too

Like · Reply · 8 October at 08:49

Write a reply...

Tweneboah Senzu It very sad, the choices of words, especially the latter speaker applied..... present him as worse liable to the offence of racism, they seek to level against the statue.

The "Gandhi must stand" petitioners intellectual seek to cross-examine the charges the "Gandhi must fall" petitioners has level against the man Gandhi. So what stop them to come for an open public debate with prominent moderators in the academic community to judge as well us the people of Ghana to decide on their own analytical conscience, the validity of charges. Why are they running away

Like · Reply · 4 · 8 October at 04:25

Rassool Snyman Hi all cdes - i am trying to understand the arguments and they seem to go into the following categories: 1. Ghandi was racist and must go 2. Ghandi wasnt racist and must stay 3. a libation should not have been poured 4. the presentation was flawed and superficial and thus unscientific 5. Ghandi influenced Afrikan politics. are these the points of argument Cde?

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 October at 06:03 · Edited

Isaac Winful Dadzie At Kofi Africa, do you imply the IAS has become a religious institution, hence the libation? What is the purpose of pouring libation in an intellectual demanded process. Is it to help with interrogation? How does it enable analysis, veracity, facts and objectivity? The lecturer is living with an African stone-age mentality, appeasing himself to satisfy academic retrogression.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 07:17

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Rassool Snyman, the points of argument are: 1). Gandhi, whilst in South Africa, made racist remarks and the statue must come down. 2). The matured Gandhi, from 1931 till he passed on, effectively 'tidied up', denounced the positions of the younger Gandhi. He evolved. A fair assessment of the man must not be limited to his South African years (when he was only 24 years), but must capture the entire history of his political life. Gandhi must stand. 3). The pouring of libation at a seminar on decolonizing education was uncalled for, and had the proclivity to obfuscate, rather than clarify, the issue.

Unlike · Reply · 2 · 8 October at 08:13

Johnson Tunu Though the pouring of libation on this occasion is incongruous, let's not duel on it unnecessarily.

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 October at 08:17

Johnson Tunu Dwell, not duel

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 08:18

Write a reply...

Rassool Snyman Kojo the figure of Gandhi is controversial and enigmatic in that its addressed some issues whilst ignoring others - for example it addressed racism against Indians but not against Africans and in fact proposed the continuation of it - beyond that Gandhi was always a tool for imperialism even in the supposed reformed period and very importantly Gandhi even in India retained the caste system whilst at the time ameliorating the conditions of the Shudras or "untouchables" - on his influencing African politics i dont

think that Gandhi invented peaceful protest or non-violence he just highlighted it - in the final analysis he was still a race/class proponent by commission and omission and the statue should be removed and the myth destroyed so that truth can emerge - by the way Hitler also influenced politics .

Like · Reply · 8 October at 08:23

Kojo Opoku Aidoo For the avoidance of doubt we are not against libation. Whenever the time is appropriate like the date I lost my mum, we pour libation in remembrance. It's sacred. It's a powerful spiritual tool. But, we should know where to draw the line between metaphysics and science!

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 October at 08:26

Kofi Afrika Dadzie is like u have memorized these words and you trying to repeat such words to me.the institute of African studies is not a political science class and has everything to do with African culture our African way of life is not a religion to entrench colonial and imperialism on us as Africans the Whiteman or Europeans have to bulkanize our culture and try to Identify religion separate from other cultural behaviour.is Jas like the story of the electricity company of Ghana which was separated from I think gridco,vra and now privatisation has taken place.lastly who told you that libation pouring is an African stone age thing and which leads to retrogression of people.what I know is Dadzie you try to hide ur ignorance with the playing of words.libation pouring has nothing to do with Ghandi must stand so you must criticize right.

Like · Reply · 8 October at 08:28

Kofi Afrika Folks I think I understand comrade Lang Nubuor now he sees Malcolm X a rascist but Ghandi an internationalist who needs to be supported and wash as a clean figure relevant to the African inspite of the fact that Ghandi was racists.i think Nkrumah was caught of the blind side and it should be seen like when he was in power he defined socialism as African socialism and when Nkrumah was overthrown shamefully he realised that there is one universal socialism.lets pardon Nkrumah although he identified ghandhi as a leader struggling against imperialism the common enemy and that should be it.the African has and would continue to use violence and non violence in their struggle against imperialism the time and circumstances will determine wat is appropriate to use.if you say argue that non violence struggle is good and not factoring in the yin and the Yan analysis then you guys would be campaigning against the use of violence by the oppressed in liberation struggle both in the past and present and future the academic analysis is relevant in academic class not outside of it.

Like · Reply · 8 October at 08:45

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Rassool Snyman, you have some good point regarding the caste system. But the system was so entrenched having been established over centuries. Gandhi couldn't dissolve it in a short period. In any case, his life was cut short by the assassin's bullet. But, having been proposed for the Nobel Peace Prize continuously in 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1937, having advocated for tolerance, and peace, we can conjecture that the logical progression was going to lead to his confrontation with the obnoxious caste system. Rassool, as I expect you agree, controversy and enigma only mirrors the contradictions surrounding the man. All historical personalities have suffered this. We need to interrogate the contradictions, ambiguities, logicalities and illogicalities of the man to see where they might have led and why. Admittedly, and we have said this several times, some of the statements of Gandhi whilst in South Africa were despicable and unacceptable. But we need to understand he was himself a victim of racism. Now, it's significant for us to clarify for ourselves how a 'victim' ended up 'victimising' others! He didn't really oppress or exploit any black man. His entire political engagements were structured by the racism of the day. He inspired millions and he must stand

Unlike · Reply · 4 · 8 October at 08:54 · Edited

Rassool Snyman Cde Kojo it wasnt only about caste but also about class and they were all interlinked and one couldn't fight one without fighting the other or the system itself remains in place. I prefer the approach of guy called Ambedkar

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 11:26

Kojo Opoku Aidoo Rassool, the intersection of class and race/caste is interesting. You are right. Sometimes, I have problems with my African American friends who completely dismiss class analysis. I have not read Ambedkar. Hopefully, I will get something if I Google him.

Like · Reply · 8 October at 11:31

Rassool Snyman Cde Kojo - i have posted some stuff on Ambedkar - this was a man after my own heart in terms of the thrust of his politics and the clarity of his struggle - Gandhi ameliorated the conditions of the Dalits within a class structure Ambedkar wanted freedom for them from the class/caste structure

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 11:37

Write a reply...

Isaac Winful Dadzie @Kofi Africa, I will humbly appeal to you to read through whatever you write before posting. It is extremely unclear and imprecise. Make your point clear, structured and well stated. Sorry I can't comprehend most of the things you have written. Do you imply the IAS is not a political science department and therefore is a cultural centre and so no need for science?

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 10:19 · Edited

Kofi Afrika @Dadzie I am a philosopher...lol. Am of the view that the institute of African studies is not a political science department.if u can go through ma messages I have not in anywhere stated that there is no need for science I have said that the art of libation pouring is in itself science and our culture as we have it is based on science.don't look at science in the contemporary way which to some extent the current assumptions of what is science or not can be wrong because our current knowledge is willfully in adequate to understand the cultural dimensions of science.there is a lot of science that is making the African survive up to this day.science not in its destructive form and a huge threat to human existence.hav u taught that the way we traditionally dance is science too if you believe that Ghandi is not rascist and he is good to our African society now and bare in mind that you have know excuse to talk on the blind spot of Gandhis history and his relevance to our struggle as Africans and further note that ghandhi has a neocolonial attitude towards the African in the scheme of things we are at the bottom of the ladder and by this he means our culture is not good so why do we hav to erect his statue in the institute of African studies.as African my culture and heritage comes first.#Ghandimustfall or Ghandimustcomedown.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 10:33

Isaac Winful Dadzie @Kofi Africa, I asked you a very simple question. And here you state that IAS is not a political science department and so no need to subject it as a science department? Moreover, science is not only restrictive to political studies if you care to know...See more

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 October at 11:09 · Edited

Rassool Snyman Kojo he was party to the murder of a freedom fighter called Bambata in South Africa who rebelled against British rule. People like Arunduti Roy are now speaking out against the myth that is called Gandhi.

Like · Reply · 8 October at 11:17

Rassool Snyman https://www.theguardian.com/.../arundhati-roy-accuses...

Arundhati Roy accuses Mahatma Gandhi of discrimination

Prize-winning author questions position in India of 'person…

THEGUARDIAN.COM | BY JASON BURKE

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Rassool Snyman https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4-yMiBGBOe0

Debunking the Gandhi Myth: Arundhati Roy

On The Laura Flanders Show: Author/activist…

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Isaac Winful Dadzie But I thought some Indian Professors had dealt with this woman and have rejected her notions about Gandhi? "Prof Mridula Mukherjee, an expert in modern Indian history at Jawaharlal University in Delhi, said Roy's criticism was misplaced. "Gandhi devoted much of his life to fighting caste prejudice. He was a reformer not a revivalist within the Hindu religion. His effort was in keeping with his philosophy of nonviolence and bringing social transformation without creating hatred," Mukherjee said.

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Rassool Snyman https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TNAdYLbGLKY

Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar Interview-1955

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on Gahndhi and the…

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Rassool Snyman Cde Issac i think there are two sides to any story and people get dismissed even great leaders, thinkers and the dismissal should be treated with circumspection -

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Rassool Snyman the problem with myths even those created by the colonial powers is that they are meant for mass consumption and the masses indeed consume them and internalise them and make them their own. Frantz Fanon speaks of this in his term "cognitive dissonance" - one has to look at Gandhi in Africa and juxtapose that against African continental and regional politics and in India juxtapose him against Ambedkar to get a clearer term f reference - Ambedkar was too radical for both British and the Hindu middle class thus Gandhi was the media choice and darling of the times in the same way Mandela was the better choice against Sobukwe and his ideology of Pan Africanism

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Koame Armachie Rasool good point of Mandela and Gandhi. Are you saying by this comparison, Mandela is evil because he wasn't more radical than Sobikwei? The things you are bringing up are not being denied by us we are asking you in which time of Gandhi's life did they happen? Is Gandhi getting heroism from those times or from a different dispensation of his life? If from a different dispensation, why are you pinning him to a past he tried to clean up?

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Rassool Snyman Koame its not about the radicalism but about what was done in the final analysis - for example Mandela chose to keep the status quo with the exception of the vote whilst Sobukwe wanted transformation in its entirety - Gandhi did exactly the same with the class/caste system whilst Ambedkar wanted it all to fall - one cannot have half a principle but all of it or it does not solve the problem only shifts it. one should ask the oppressed what do they feel as opposed to asking the better aligned negotiators as to what was negotiated and what were the terms of reference set by whom? The oppressed must have their own voice in these negotiations or agency is removed from them and placed in the hands of interlocutors - how different is that from their oppression where they were voiceless and powerless? in south Africa we see the fall out of these skewed negotiations and they are tearing our country apart this as poverty deepens, the class divide get sharper and wider and poverty runs rampant. The negotiations led to the commodification of our rights, privatisation of state assets and structural adjustment through the IMF and World Bank coupled to the Reserve Bank. The pig was never removed it just got lipstick and a pig with lipstick is still a pig!

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Write a reply...

Lang Nubuor Even with the caste system, Rassool, Gandhi went through a transformation from a position of reform to a radical rejection of it.

In his book, GANDHI'S POWER: NONVIOLENCE IN ACTION, Dennis Dalton refers to Gandhi's 1935 article with the title 'Caste Has To Go'.

He specifically states at p. 53 that 'Gandhi's approach to the reform of caste changed in the early 1930s from cautious reform to radical opposition'.

Gandhi did not have the power to abolish the caste system. This is well reflected in his statement that 'If I had my way I would persuade all caste Hindu girls coming under my influence to select Harijan husbands.' (Dennis Dalton, ibid).

In fact, on the same page, Dalton states that 'His views on intermarriage, once loosened, culminated in the announcement of 1946 that "If anybody was not prepared to marry a Harijan Gandhi would not bless that marriage." 'Prohibition of intermarriage and interdining are the main pillars of the caste system.

The quoted references above are clear pointers to Gandhi's final rejection of the caste system.

We have constantly made reference to the fact that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's anti-communist statements in the 1930s do not necessitate his being described as an anti-communist or anti-socialist today. Dr. Nkrumah transformed in the 1940s into a Marxist analyst and has been known for his philosophy of Marx-ism-Nkrumaism. And, thus, nobody refers to him as an anti-communist.

In fact, his neo-colonial capitalist enemies use the communist tag as a slur on him today. And, there are millions of his followers who do not know that he ever made anti-communist remarks.

History and society judge personalities in their transformation but not in the early phases of their development. Why are some people making Gandhi the exception to the rule?

Rassool, we do not think that it's correct to assess the matured Gandhi as a life-long upholder of racism and champion of the caste system.

Permit me to leave you at this point with Dalton's piece of narrative on Gandhi's position on the institution of untouchability thus:

'After his return to India, his campaign against the institution of untouchability became a major plank in his reform platform. 'In a speech of early 1916, he condemned untouchability in the strongest possible terms as "an ineffaceable blot that Hinduism today carries with it ... This miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit of untouchableness." "It is, to my mind, a curse that has come to us, and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction that we labor under in this sacred land is fit and proper punishment for this great and indelible crime that we are committing." '

It's understandable when even some normal progressive forces on the African continent have not availed themselves with opportunities to read outside the school syllabus of the enslaving neo-colonial capitalist system of our days. This issue of Gandhi's statue very emphatically exposes the restrictions on the African Mind.

The greatest shame in Prof. Akosua A. Ampofo's concluding remarks was her showing up Abraham's book 'The Mind of Africa' and admitting that she had still not read it. Some of us read that book for the first time when we were in secondary school. Don't mind whether we understood it at the time.

That's really the crying shame of our educational system.

And these are the professors into whose hands the development of our chil-dren's mind has been entrusted. Unfortunate indeed!

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Rassool Snyman Cde Lang there were two areas of engagement in India one in the legislative spaces and the other in the social spaces - in the legislative

spaces where caste/class would have fallen he was found wanting in the social spaces he excelled and this would be reflected in the opinions of the Dalits and the Hindus and both would never be reconciled. i think you should listen to Ambedkar in the following clip as to how the Dalits were excluded from the equation. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=drDADwKucqo

Dr Ambedkar original voice (Poona Pact)

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TO THE READER

I would like to say to the diligent reader of my writings and to others who are interested in them that I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my search after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things. Old as I am in age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to grow inwardly or that my growth will stop at the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment, and, therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any two writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same subject.

Harijan, 29-4-'33, p. 2

M. K. Gandhi

THE MIND OF KWAME NKRUMAH
Manual for the Study of Consciencism

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

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